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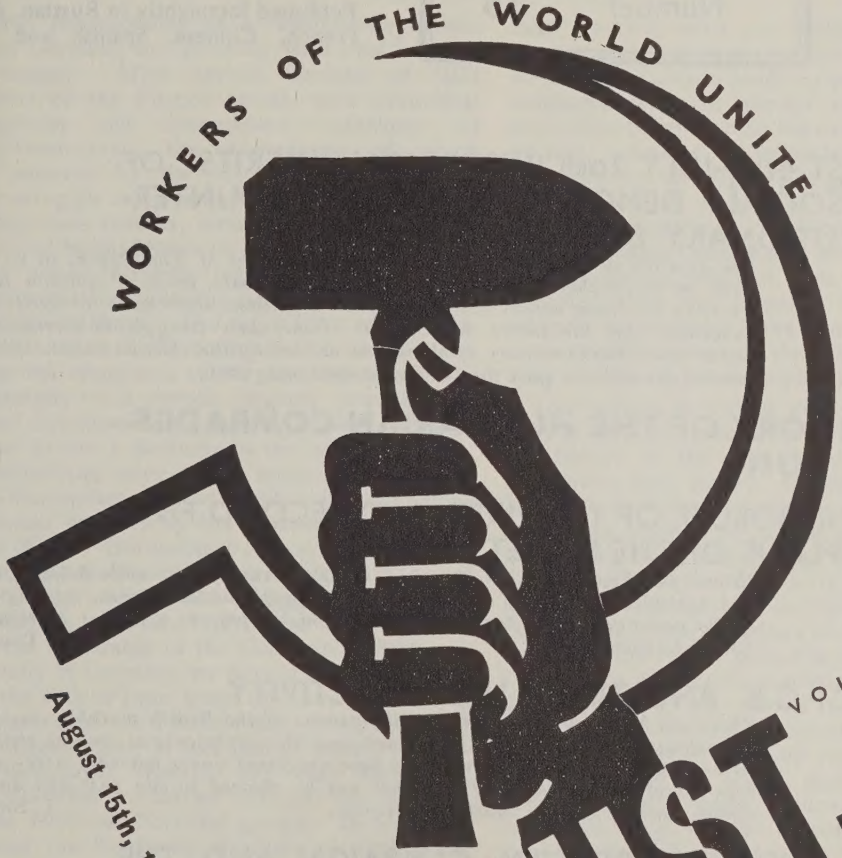

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7. BOURGEOIS "REVELATIONS" ON THE WAR OF THE FUTURE

THE TWENTIETH OF JULY OF GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

THE prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in Germany are growing with ever increasing tempo. After several months of wild activities of the Fascist bands, wild chauvinist propaganda and unexampled treachery of Social-Democracy, the manœuvres of which were pictured by the II International as "a heroic struggle for international democracy," the working class masses, including more and more sections of Social-Democratic workers, are undertaking active struggle against the bourgeois Fascist counter-revolutionaries and their Social-Democratic lackeys. The huge wave of chauvinism which allowed the bourgeoisie to temporarily conceal the sharpness of the class contradictions in Germany, to a certain degree, brought the national Socialists with their 13 million votes to the fore in the 3 elections in the spring of 1932. This chauvinist wave, which made it possible for Social-Democracy to abominably mislead millions of German workers by the counter-revolutionary legend of the "Hindenburg democratic front," is now being transformed into a mighty wave of revolutionary anti-Fascist struggle of the German workers, who are replying to Fascist terror under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Actually in Germany we have *a small civil war*. From the 18th of June, when the ban on the Storm Detachments of the Fascists was lifted, up to the 1st of August, i.e., in less than 6 weeks, according to newspaper reports, 183 were killed and 2,000 wounded in battles between the workers and the National Socialist gangs. In the days preceding the Reichstag elections 17 were killed and 83 wounded. In Wuppertal, Upper Silesia, Greiswald, Hamburg, Hagen and numerous other localities, the fighting united front of the workers is victoriously resisting the numerous attempts of the Fascist counter-revolutionary armed bands to "clear Germany of Marxism," i.e., first of all, of Communist workers. The German bourgeoisie was in a hurry to utilise what seemed to be a break in the mass struggle to totally disarm its class enemy and destroy its revolutionary vanguard; the German bourgeoisie, however, and its Social-Democracy erred in their calculations. This was, to a great extent, a necessary historical reconstruction, preparation for a higher stage of the revolutionary struggle which, nevertheless, with better mass work and greater activity of the revolutionary vanguard, could have been hastened. A new ferment full of hatred for the capitalist system and its Fascist bandits had begun among the millions of German workers, with a 7 million strong army of unemployed, and in the face of continuous attacks on social insurance (only 19 per cent. of the unemployed were in receipt of "normal" semi-starvation benefit at the time of Von Papen's last decree), a loss of 17 millards in 1929 and a 50 per cent. cut in wages last year alone.

Hundreds of thousands of German Social-Democratic workers, frightened by the terror-stricken Social-Democracy, now understand that the treacherous policy of their leaders leads them directly under the Fascists' knife. Millions of German proletarians have not experienced such clear object lessons in the class struggle for a long time as they have during the last few weeks.

That this is so can be seen not only from the growth of direct resistance to Fascist bandits. In the course of the last two months the strike movement has grown extensively, about 300 economic strikes and from 90 to 100 mass political strikes (though as yet not big strikes and not in the key industries of the industrial districts) have taken place in the country. The strike wave among the unemployed, engaged in various compulsory public works, where we have had 180 such strikes in the recent period is also characteristic. On election day, under conditions of a ban on all demonstrations, the streets being patrolled by armoured cars and police armed to the teeth who, by the way, were carefully trained by Severing and Grezinsky to shoot down working class demonstrators, a huge demonstration of workers from Wedding—Moabit—Neüköln who demonstrated the will of the Berlin working class quarters, could not be broken up.

Finally, the elections—"Totally unexpected," says the dissatisfied bourgeois press. The Fascist government of Von Papen in disbanding the Reichstag in June declared in its statement, "The nation must make a plain and definite decision *with what forces* it will enter the *future*." The Von Papen government was confident of the election results. The National Socialists also entered the elections with full confidence in winning new millions of votes. The Social Fascists faced the elections confident "that their worse times were past," that "the Reichstag will rectify everything," and that the Parliamentary victory of Social-Democracy would conceal the new 4th of August of German Social-Democracy, and its rôle of voluntarily driving the German working masses under the yoke of the Fascist dictatorship of the Von Papen government, in the days of July 20th—23rd, when the

Social-Democracy, in reply to the Communist Party's call for a political strike declared a political strike to be *provocation*. The entire camp of the German bourgeoisie, Social-Democracy included, placed before itself the aim of crushing the Communist Party and showing, during the parliamentary campaign, that the Communist vanguard of the German working class does not deserve serious attention. Never before has the German Communist Party had to work under such difficult police conditions during an election campaign. The revolutionary workers' party, which conducted an expensive election campaign on pennies collected from the revolutionary German workers was practically deprived of its press, 12 of its newspapers were suppressed. In several cities, the Communist organisations could hold only one election meeting, because the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses manifested at such meetings immediately called forth a police ban. There was no end to Fascist and police provocation during these days. *Nevertheless,* the Communist Party of Germany was not only able to increase its votes by 700,000, not only to regain Red Berlin, and repulse the Social-Democrats and National Socialists in the important industrial districts, but, on the whole, it is the main *victor* of the elections. In a number of proletarian districts of the Ruhr and Rhine in Duisberg, Essen, Helsingkirchen, Wuppertal, etc., where huge masses of miners and engineers are concentrated, the Communist Party, more than in other districts has approached the winning over of the *majority of the working class.*

The entire bourgeoisie is compelled to recognise this victory of the German Communist Party and its own miscalculation. On the day preceding the elections the Hitler organ, which correctly foresaw the election results for the bourgeois parties on the whole, spoke of a *further decrease* in the number of Communist votes. "The Communists, who after a series of elections in the various German states could only anticipate four million votes, have considerably surpassed this figure. This growth of Communist votes signifies that the break in the Marxian front, which could hitherto be seen in every election campaign was *not continued* . . . Only in respect to the Communist votes was our forecast not correct . . ."

This is what was written under the fresh impressions of the first election results, in Hugenberg's organ, "Der Montag," which stands close to the National Socialists.

"The Communists are the weakest link in the anti-Fascist front," declared the Menshevik theoretician of German Social-Democracy, Alexander Schifrin, on the eve of the election. "The Communist Party reached the peak of its influence in the autumn of 1931, when Social-Democracy was in its deepest depression. A turn has taken place since then. The Communist Party suffered defeat in the Presidential elections . . . The Social-Democracy notwithstanding its "policy of patience" (tactic of "lesser evil."—Ed.) was able to check its downward movement and recover from depression. The Communist Party in spite of its rôle of an opposition was crushed in the middle of its advance." ("Kampf," July, 1932.)

The Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party even considered it possible to approach the Communist workers to vote for Social-Democrats. The day before the elections "Vorwarts" declared in its leading article that thousands and thousands of Communist voters "are already prepared" to "realise the proletarian united front by their votes under the sign of 'Social-Democracy'."

This confidence of the Social-Democracy was based upon its belief in the *inevitability of the capitalist way out of the crisis*, in the new "ebb" of the workers' movement. This theory of the "ebb" in the workers' movement is now being preached by all shades of Social-Fascism— including the right renegades and counter-revolutionary trotskyites.

What are the real lessons of the election campaign?

The *first* and *fundamental* lesson is that not all the attempts of the German bourgeoisie, not the Fascist terror, no treachery of the Social-Democrats could revive capitalist stabilisation in Germany, which has now come to an *end*, could not check the maturing of the revolutionary crisis in Germany. The elections which did not give a parliamentary majority to any of the parties, signify a further intensification of contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie and express the *further deepening of the crisis.* The Von Papen government, which displayed its bankruptcy at Lausanne, has now added to its defeat abroad, a smashing defeat at home. The question as to whether the Fascist government of Von Papen, in its present form, or in collaboration with the National Socialists, or in a coalition from the centre to the Nazis, will be able to establish a parliamentary basis for itself is of no importance for the future development of the class struggle in Germany. In the face of a growing "Communist menace," the bourgeoisie will doubtless attempt to establish a united counter-revolutionary front. Furthermore, the international bourgeois reaction will drive it towards this goal. On the day following the elections the most reactionary "Daily Mail" foresaw that the German government will attempt to "unite the surprising energy

and enthusiasm of the National Socialists with the conservative thought of the centre and the traditional loyalty of the Nationalists." The infamous "Vorwarts" in its evening edition "Abend," announces its policy of practical support to such a bourgeois bloc beforehand. "The National Socialist Party, *it is understood, has the right* to conduct negotiations regarding the establishment of a parliamentary majority, with the help of which it hopes to govern the country." No matter what parliamentary combinations are set up, the election results show the colossal objective possibilities that have now been created for the organisation of an anti-Fascist united front, for a decisive advance of the Communist vanguard against the Social-Democracy, for the immediate winning over by the Communist Party of the majority of the working class, for direct preparations of a struggle to overthrow Fascist dictatorship in Germany. It is not accidental that the entire "Weimar" press emphasises the fact that working class voters have come over from the National Socialists to the Communists, and all the Nationalist papers remark on the passing of Social-Democratic workers to the Communists. The following is characteristic in the struggle of the Communists against Fascism and also Social Fascism: The Communist Party gained *more* votes than the Social-Democrats *lost*. The votes won by the Communists are the votes of pure proletarians. Of 700,000 votes won by the Communist Party, 400,000 were gained in the Rhine-Westphalian industrial district alone. The Communist Party won votes in almost all the industrial centres. It is characteristic that in the agrarian districts of Southern Germany, where the Communist gain (in relative percentage) was the highest (in Lower Bavaria 83.1 per cent., in Upper Bavaria 53.6 per cent.), the number of votes gained among the agricultural labourers is considerably higher than among the peasants. In Berlin proper the Communists won 70,000 votes in comparison with the results of the recent Prussian Landtag election. The Social-Democrats lost 70,000 votes and the National Socialists 10,000. For the first time more than 5 million votes have been cast for the Communist Party, for a Soviet Germany. This constitutes one-fourth of the entire German proletariat and nearly one-third of the industrial proletariat.

The *second lesson* of the elections consists in the fact that the proletarian anti-Fascist front was able to check the tempo of the development of National Socialism by means of a series of anti-Fascist actions. The Nazis won 300 with a loss of thousands compared with the second round of the Presidential election. The realisation of Hitler's "Third Reich" by "constitutional methods" did not succeed. There are even districts where the National Socialists have lost votes in comparison to the results of the Prussian Landtag elections. Thus in Berlin the loss was 2.78 per cent., Cologne, 3.5 per cent., Dusseldorf, 3.1 per cent., Opel, 3.8 per cent., South Westphalia, 0.7 per cent. The most important factor in the election results as far as the National Socialists are concerned is the fact that most of their losses are in industrial centres. In the Rhine-Westphalian district alone the National Socialists lost 73,000 votes. The so-called "storm" of the factories by the National Socialists met with determined resistance by the widest masses of workers.

However, it would be completely impermissible and frivolous to be content with these results, and think that the growth of National Socialism, in general, has been stopped, and that on the 31st of July any further headway of the National Socialists has been checked. There can be no doubt that Fascist terror will increase in the very near future. The danger of suppression of the Communist Party has by no means been lessened. It will be possible to *really check this growth* of National Socialism only by means of developing the *extra parliamentary* anti-Fascist struggle of the working masses. It is important now that the ranks of the workers, especially the unemployed, who while revolting against the capitalist regime have not, as yet, reached the level of conscious revolutionary class struggle, and been led away by the lying national and social demagogy of the Nazis, are now being convinced in practice, that the National Socialist Party is simply a gang of black-and-tan thugs of monopolist capitalists, and has nothing in common with the workers. The sooner a united anti-Fascist proletarian front is established, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the quicker will begin the disintegration and rout of the petty bourgeois elements, who, infuriated by the horrors of the capitalist crisis and the Versailles system, have joined Hitler.

The third lesson,—the *Social-Democracy,* the treachery of the German Social-Democracy on July 20th is one of the greatest and most scandalous betrayals, in the course of continuous infamous treachery to the interests of the working class, of international Social-Democracy, since August 4th, 1914. The German Social-Democracy, like German capitalism, is now confronted by its greatest crisis. The manœuvres of Social-Democracy are becoming more and more complicated with the growth of this crisis — from the direct call to physically crush the Communist Party to the slogan of "preparing" for a general strike, "propaganda" of a united proletarian front and "threats" to the National Socialists.

The crisis of German Social-Democracy reflects the general crisis of the IInd International with great clarity. This is the reason why this parliamentary campaign of German Social-Democracy was transformed into an international "solidarity action" of world Social-Fascism. The British Labour Party sent a special delegation to screw up the courage of their German colleagues. The "most radical" Italian Social-Democrats now residing in Paris, despatched a telegram of greetings and gave the German Social-Fascists a few edifying and practical lessons on . . . how to *run away* from Fascism and *struggle* against Communism! The Spanish Social-Democratic ministers who now have the State treasure box at their disposal expressed their solidarity with Severing and Braun, and organised a "collection" for the election campaign of the German Social-Democrats, etc. However, this "common interest action" was very clearly expressed after the 20th of July, when the German Social-Democracy was carrying out its provocative struggle against the political strike. "We must be silent" (i.e., abstain from criticising the German Social-Democrats) bashfully declares the central organ of the Czech Social-Democratic Party, "Pravo Lidu," "in order not to hinder (!) our German comrades in their struggle (!!) against Fascism." The most infamous of all, as could be expected, was the "solidarity action" of the Vienna Austro-Marxians. In an extensive theoretical article the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" formulates, in the elevated style of Otto Bauer, the main reasons why it *was impossible* to strike after July 20th. It seems, according to this paper, that:

"Firstly it was impossible to strike *because of the huge army of unemployed,* inasmuch as these unemployed are a reserve for strike breakers.

Secondly, a general strike *necessitates* that the majority of the population favours it.

Thirdly, the elections of the Prussian Landtag demonstrated that this majority *does not exist yet.*

Fourthly, . . . this "fourthly" was formulated by another radical Social-Democrat, formerly an independent, Rudolf Breitscheid, who was the first among the German Social-Fascist leaders to employ demagogy about a "united front," and now, together with Weiss and Braun, is shaking off his former illusions about the "possibility of united front with the Communists" (see his article in the last bulletin of the II International).

Nevertheless Breitscheid discovered an explanation why the working class *cannot* openly struggle against the bourgeoisie for power at the present time, and, what is more, he has invented a recipé to make a revolution *without* this struggle. In an interview with the Berlin correspondent of one of the Paris boulevard sheets "Journale," prior to the Reichstag elections, Breitscheid presents his plan. He says:

"We thought that the German revolution took place in 1918. This is not so. Then it was only a matter of simple reconstruction, now we are confronting real revolution which has nothing in common with the romance of the past because the working class masses cannot challenge the force of soldiers. There are no barricades that could withstand artillery fire. But nevertheless the revolution is here. We are perhaps on the road to dictatorship, but not for long. National Socialism will also come to an end, although, maybe not at once. There are sufficient republicans left in Germany, and parliamentarism and the republic in Germany will, in all probability, be revived."

Thus under conditions of "high technique" of capitalism it seems necessary to discard any dreams of proletarian revolution. Under these conditions there can be only one "revolution" and this is a Fascist revolution!

This statement of the Social-Fascists show that they are already "prepared" for the coming of the National Socialists to power. Never before has the rôle of Social-Democracy, as the main social support of the bourgeoisie, been so clear, Social-Democracy that leads the working class masses, in conditions of maturing proletarian revolution, to open Fascist dictatorship as at the present moment. These arguments of the Social-Democracy are as old as opportunism itself and the rôle of Social-Democracy as the main support of the bourgeoisie. These arguments are like to those used in 1917, on the eve of the October Revolution by the "Novya Zhizn" advocates when they tried to show why the Russian proletariat could not take power, as two peas in a pod.

"The Advocate," wrote Lenin in his article, "Will the Bolsheviks maintain power?" advances six arguments, viz.:

1. The proletariat is "isolated from the other classes of the country.
2. The proletariat is isolated from the living forces of democracy.
3. The proletariat cannot technically master the state apparatus.
4. The proletariat cannot bring this apparatus into motion.
5. The situation is exceptionally complicated.
6. The proletariat is not capable of resisting the pressure of enemy forces, which will crush not only the dictatorship of the proletariat but the whole revolution as well.

Lenin remarked on this, "The gentlemen from

'Novya Zhizn' who shout about the isolation of the proletariat, express only their own subjective inclination towards the bourgeoisie! Do not hope that we will allow ourselves to become terrified by your panic!"

Messrs. Breitscheid and Bauer reflect the panic of the bourgeoisie and German Social-Democracy (and the whole II International) in face of the pressure of . . . the proletarian revolution in Germany. The Social-Fascists are now more and more called to give account to the working class masses for their betrayal and the tactic "of the lesser evil," for the policy of the A.D.G.B. and for Hindenburg, as well as for the provocational sabotage of the anti-Fascist struggle of the German proletariat, and their daily betrayals of the interests of the working class. There are no acts of treachery and villainy that the German Social-Democratic leaders would not undertake in their struggle against the proletarian revolution. Rosa Luxemburg at one time denied the Revisionist Schiepel the right to compete in a race for "proletarian revolutionary thought" on the grounds that "loyalty forbids competition with one who enters the track with his back to the starting post." No one can charge the Social-Democratic leaders with this to-day. They are all facing the starting post manœuvring at the same time. In this case the starting post is the capitalist way out of the crisis. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Social-Fascist Dekker writes in "Gesellschaft" (limiting his remarks only to the Nazi's) that "The election campaign is assuming the character of peculiar leaps and bounds; will the leaders reach their goal before the masses discover that they are being fooled?"

Yes, Herr Dekker; this refers to you, Social-Fascists!

A peculiarity of the last elections for Social-Democracy is the fact that if, for instance, in the 1930 elections the loss of working class votes (which took place to a considerable extent even then) was somewhat made up by an influx of petty bourgeois votes, now, not only is the number of working class votes lost higher, but the reserve of petty bourgeois votes has been exhausted to an enormous extent, primarily by the National Socialists.

The Social-Democracy is restless: It holds deadly hate for the proletarian revolution but at the same time it stubbornly fights to maintain its proletarian basis. "The road of the German Socialist working class movement" (i.e., German Social-Fascism), pathetically concludes the white emigrant Menshevik Schifrin in his article in "Kampf," "follows the narrow path between the pits of Fascist dictatorship and the heights of Socialism." This road does not lead to the Socialist heights, nor along a third parallel path, but exclusively to the depths of the moderate wing of Fascism.

In playing the opposition against the infamous decree of Von Papen by which the government marked its advent to power, the Social-Democratic leadership of the A.D.G.B. simultaneously attempted to console the German bourgeoisie that "the trade unions know that the present time calls for sacrifice." While "threatening" the Fascists on July 19th and declaring that Social-Democracy will check any attempt at "an anti-constitutional revolution," the very next day the Social-Democrats "submitted" to a platoon of General Rundschted's troops, who liquidated the Prussian government. Exactly as happened on August 3rd, 1914, when "Vorwaerts" solemnly declared in its leading article, that German Social-Democracy will not permit even one drop of German soldier's blood to fall in the interests of the Hapsbourgs; two days later the Social-Democrats voted for military credits. While "threatening" to call a general political strike and recalling the Kapp Putsch, Social-Democracy, at a decisive moment of the mobilisation of the masses, repeats its tactics of August 4th.

Nevertheless it would be a fatal mistake to consider that the mass proletarian basis of Social-Democracy is thoroughly liquidated. Certainly there are still hundreds and thousands of Labour bureaucrats and Labour aristocracy who have not lost their privileged positions and who will remain faithful to their Social-Fascist leaders to the very end. There are also millions of German workers (including millions of members of reformist unions) who have not yet overcome their democratic illusions, who still believe in their organisation, who want and are determined to defend their reformist trade unions, even if this has to be done against the will of their leaders, but who do not suspect that their leaders are incapable of such defence.

The Communist vanguard should draw the conclusions from this that the stronger the disintegration of Social-Democracy — the stronger and more energetically should we conduct out work for a united front with the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers, the closer we should come to these Social-Democratic workers and patiently explain to them the real rôle of their leaders and point out the only revolutionary way of struggle against Fascism and capitalist offensive. Further, we should more painstakingly and decisively take up the every-day questions of the life of the working class, leading it in every-day struggle and raising this struggle step by step to a higher plane of political action, bearing in mind that the period of the end of capitalist stabilisation means much

shorter periods between the various stages of class struggle.

The *central lever* of the revolutionary tactic of the Communist Party in the present stage, the means of mobilising the masses, is the mass *political strike*. This naturally does not mean that the rôle of economic struggles of the proletariat is in any way lessened. Notwithstanding a certain improvement in recent months in this respect, we must nevertheless record considerable lagging behind of the German Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement in the organisation of the economic struggle of the proletariat. But under the present conditions in Germany it is often much easier to raise the workers to a mass political strike which, in its turn, should serve as a starting point to a mass economic strike movement. It is necessary, more than ever before, to carry on day by day propaganda for a mass political strike.

A *decisive turn* must be made by the C.P. of Germany and the red trade union opposition in their work among the unemployed.

It is here that we have most lagging behind in all our revolutionary mass work, even in comparison to the work, in the factories where the workers are to a considerable extent still afraid of being thrown out. The Communist vanguard must primarily be held responsible for the fact that the National Socialists have been able to induce hundreds of thousands of hungry unemployed workers to join their "storm battalions." The Fascist government has introduced *forced labour* on a mass scale. The revolutionary ferment among the unemployed against hunger and slavery grows with every day. The Social-Democracy is increasing its manœuvres, going as far as to establish trade union organisations among the unemployed. The Communist Party must and is obliged to overcome its impermissible lagging behind in the work among the unemployed in the shortest possible time.

The question of the *working class youth* which is closely linked up with the question of the unemployed, is of special importance at present. The young workers are the first to suffer from capitalist rationalisation, from the restriction of production or the closing down of factories as a result of the crisis. The working class youth has no traditions of class struggle. But it also has no traditions of a labour aristocracy, striving vainly for peace. The young workers are looking forward to struggle and activity, and are leaving the reformist trade unions. In the course of the last one and a half years 120,000 young workers left the ranks of the A.D.G.B. Where did they go? They did not join the Young Communist League. Owing to a lagging behind of the Y.C.L. in this respect there can be no doubt that a considerable section of these young workers joined the National Socialists.

Finally, in mobilising the masses on the basis of the united anti-Fascist front, in leading the way for a struggle against sectarianism and isolation from the masses, the Communist Party of Germany must very clearly carry out the united front tactic *on the basis of definite principles* by means of relentless struggle against opportunism and capitulation to the Social-Democracy. It must struggle against right opportunism which especially now, under conditions of the rapid growth of the revolutionary mass struggle, is more than ever before the main danger for the Communist vanguard. It is not accidental that the growth of Communist votes in the parliamentary elections is considerably weaker in those industrial centres where gross opportunist errors in the establishment of the united front have been committed (this, for example, is the case in the Leuna chemical plants in Central Germany) or where the Communist organisation was not able, or is too weak, to parry the strong "left" manœuvres of Social-Democracy, as for instance in Breslau where the Social-Democrats received their greatest increase in votes—13.5 per cent.

Only in conducting such mass work on the basis of a clear-cut line of revolutionary principles will the Communist Party of Germany be able to accelerate and carry through the mobilisation of the proletarian masses for struggle against Fascism and the capitalist offensive; it will speed the process of this mobilisation, and will lead the mass to the decisive struggles for a Soviet Germany.

IN MEMORY OF THE HUNGARIAN COMRADES

By Bela Kun.

IN Budapest, where thirteen years ago, the bayonets of the Czecho-Slovakian and Roumanian vassals of Entente imperialism placed Fascism in the saddle, with the active support of the Hungarian Social Democracy, after five days' rule of the democratic counter-revolution—two of the best champions of the *rising proletarian revolution* were hanged on July 29th by the executioners of Fascism.

Emerich Sallai, one of the martyrs, already fought during the bloody orgy of the imperialist war in the revolutionary anti-militarist group, which was the *forerunner* of the leading party of the Hungarian proletariat; the C.P.H. (Communist Party of Hungary). From the moment of its inception to the day of his death he dedicated every minute of his life to the struggle of the Party.

The other martyr, *Alexander Fürst*, came from that generation of fighters of the Hungarian proletarian revolution who attained revolutionary self-consciousness on the basis of the struggle against Fascism. He came from the ranks of those fighters who had grown into the leading guard of the C.P.H. in the underground struggle. His whole life was filled with the revolutionary struggle, since he awakened to revolutionary consciousness.

The rope of the hangman, Nicolai Horthy, strangled two of the best of *two party generations* of the Hungarian revolution, to paralyse their fighting activity and stifle their call to battle, but who, *under the very gallows*, whipped out the resounding reminder that:

"Revolutions are the locomotives of history."

The revolution obeys its own laws, and not those whose paragraphs are couched in the language of the gallows, which the ruling class erects for the champions of the workers and toiling peasantry striving for freedom.

The gallows were hardly erected or the ropes tightened, than the fighting detachments of the working-class were already gathering in the streets, occupied by the police and the military, *to demonstrate against the Fascist hangman-regime of Horthy and for the Communist leaders, threatened by the gallows.* Although the cold bodies of *Emerich Sallai* and *Alexander Fürst* were already removed from the gallows, the determined fighting soldiers of the proletarian revolution were *still* continuing their demonstrations *for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the new Hungarian Soviet Republic.*

At the time of bourgeois democracy, as also that of Fascism, the worker possesses but one *real* right: *the right of revolution.* He possesses but one *real* vital element: *the revolutionary struggle.*

This right cannot be buried with the dead of the revolution. This fight cannot be hung on two gallows. A forest of gallows will not do this!

* * *

The gallows belong to the *last wisdom* of the bourgeois murder system.

The two gallows on which *Emerich Sallai* and *Alexander Fürst* were strung, *grew out of the sinking soil of Hungarian Fascism.* Nikolai Horthy, through his police judges and hangmen, rammed these gallows firmly into the ground to stop the sinking of the soil of Fascism, and group the forces, which were breaking up, around these gallows.

The end of the *economic crisis* in Hungary is not to be seen even with a telescope. There are no limits to the starvation of the toilers. *The wages of industrial and agricultural workers have fallen during the crisis by a half and to one-third.* The unemployed who are driven to *forced labour* are eking out a starvation existence. Everyone in the village, from the smallholders to the middle peasants, is exposed to poverty and misery. In the towns, strikes, meetings and demonstrations in and outside the factories are growing apace. Arms hidden since the war of the Reds are seized in the villages. In some places, the village population made preparations to disarm the gendarmerie. The bailiff is unable to collect taxes and debts from the peasants, even with the assistance of gendarmes. The urban workers rebel against misery, and the hungry peasant eyes in the villages are directing their gaze to the soil and warehouses of the landlords. The agricultural labourers and army of peasants condemned to unemployment are rising, though slowly.

The end of the partial and relative stabilisation has politically clouded the heavens of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, not only at home, but

also abroad. The struggle of the bourgeoisie against the brigand-peace of Trianon, which was nothing but a means for Fascist and Nationalist demagogy at home, and a method of the enrichment of the aristocrats, has now been reduced by the Hungarian ruling class to a revision demagogy. The very limits of this revision demagogy have considerably strengthened, in consequence of the pressure of French imperialism, and the decline in the international weight of Italian imperialism.

Foreign credit, aye, even the hope of same, depends upon whether the Hungarian bourgeoisie will still more subject itself to French imperialism, which watches over the treaties of Versailles and Trianon with the fury of a mad dog.

The renewed Anglo-French Entente refuses to allow the Hungarian bourgeoisie a single franc or a single square metre of territory at the expense of the Little Entente, even for the supply of Hungarian cannon-fodder for the anti-Soviet war ; it knows quite well that the Hungarian bourgeoisie is ready, at any moment, to shed rivers of Hungarian toilers' blood free of all charge.

To-day Horthy is presenting the corpses of the Communist leaders to the imperialist States to move "cultural" Europe to grant them alms. The German newspaper of the Hungarian Government, the "Pester Lloyd," writes :

> "Not only Hungarian public opinion, but that of the rest of Europe, must pay a debt of grateful recognition, at the still fresh grave of the Moscow emissaries, to our police service for its exemplary vigilance and tenacious energy with which it has always understood how to prevent Moscow emissaries from sowing the seeds of Bolshevism. It must surely have the effect of calming the consciousness of the real conscience of Europe."

The poverty which has been brought about by the crisis has unloosened the *inner unity of the bourgeoisie*, and has evoked a dispute within that bourgeoisie on the question of, who is to bear that part of the burden of the crisis, which cannot be covered by the plunder of the workers, the poorest and middle peasants, and the middle classes in the towns—are the Barons of industry or the Counts of the big landed estates to dip their hands into their own pockets ?

Parallel with the development of the inner contradictions of the bourgeoisie, the demand of the proletariat and its fighting aspiration for the establishment of the revolutionary front is growing, under the pressure of the crisis, in consequence of the betrayal of social democracy and the agitation of the Communist Party. The wide mass of the peasantry are also seeking for ways and means to establish a revolutionary fighting alliance with the workers. Tens of thousands of the lower middle-class of Budapest signed the protest against the summary sentence on Comrades *Emeric Sallai* and *Alexander Fürst*.

It is also part of the final wisdom of the bourgeoisie, that, side by side with the hangings of the court-martial (provoked by Matuska's attempt to wreck the express at Bia Torbagy)* it whips the social-democracy still more deeply into "left" demagogy, to stem the decline of its chief support in the town, and also allows it to preach the struggle in the village, to keep the toilers back from the real fight.

This also is of no avail ! Despite all the persecution the Communist Party of Hungary filled the breach made by the provocateurs, which were introduced into its organisation, with the aid of the police, The ideological and political influence of the Party is visibly growing apace. The traditions, also, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which the bourgeoisie, the social-democracy, and the provocateurs who slunk into the Party unitedly tried to defame, evoked a live effective force in the masses of workers and peasants for the struggle to regain all that had been lost by the overthrow of the first proletarian revolution.

The assistance of the social-democracy was insufficient to check the revolutionising of the masses. The contradictions within the bourgeoisie are sharpening. The masses of the lower middle-classes are overcome by a feeling of desperate hopelessness, in regard to every measure which Fascism is trying to puzzle out to ameliorate the crisis. The demagogy of social-democracy is ending in the village and the recently formed Independent Party of Small Farmers are, contrary to the anticipation of the landlords, taking up the fight against rural poverty in real earnest.

But wherever social-democracy by itself is powerless to aid the bourgeoisie against the revolution—there the Fascist bourgeoisie erect,

*See "The Agent Provocateur in the Labour Movement."—Ed.

with the aid of social-democracy, the gallows against the revolution.

The two gallows, on which the two champions of the revolution and C.P.H., *Emerich Sallai* and *Alexander Fürst* have been strung up, are not symbols of the power of the bourgeoisie, but its decline and the inadequacy of the counter-revolutionary social-democracy.

* * *

"I will be avenged"—such were the last words of *Emerich Sallai*, when the executioner seized him, and put his head in the noose.

The vengeance will not merely be the sentence which will be passed by the victorious proletarian revolution on the murderers. The vengeance is the fight against the Fascist system of murdering workers and peasants, and what is an unavoidable, urgent and essential component part of this fight, the fight against social-democracy, and the organisation of this fight with all force on a wide front.

Without an inexorably consistent, convincing fight, which the masses must be drawn into, without such a fight against social-democracy, a consistent victorious struggle for the overthrow of the Fascist hangman's regime is impossible. The Hungarian social-democracy, which undermined the rule of the proletariat in 1919, which, after the overthrow of the dictatorship, provided the catchword for the mass carnage among the workers and peasants by its slogan "Let the guilty suffer"—the Hungarian social-democracy is now coming before the masses in Budapest to restrain them from the fight against the murder-dealing Fascism.

"The Party Executive calls upon the whole proletariat" wrote the "Nepszava," the central organ of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party, on the day of the execution, "to refrain from any specific action notwithstanding all its indignation."

The "specific action" is the revolutionary demonstration of the workers against the Fascist murder, and the "action" of the social-democracy is the defamation of the revolutionaries about to be murdered on the gallows, and a paper "protest" against the application of the court-martial.

The representative of the French social-democracy, Jean Longuet, came to Budapest to appear in *court* in defence of Comrades *Emerich Sallai* and *Alexander Fürst*. The lithographed official organ of the Second International stated:

> "The dictatorship prevented the accomplishment of his intentions by prohibiting him getting into touch with the accused, or even seeing the indictment. Defence thereby became impossible and it may be justly asserted that the two Communists were not executed, but murdered."

And to show that it was his intention to defend the revolutionaries in the law-court *only*, the same Longuet declared himself in "Nepszava" in opposition to any action of the Budapest workers against the murder. Before his departure, he published the following in the "Nepszava":

> "I am leaving Budapest with very sad feelings, and would direct through the 'Nepszava' an appeal to the workers . . . not to permit themselves to be provoked, but, with the greatest calm and faithful Party discipline, to follow their leaders."

The "provocation" is the Communist appeal for demonstrations against the Fascist murder and "following their leaders" is to accept this murder with calmness.

In the defamation of Moscow, social-democracy was at one with the bourgeois Press. The "Arbeiter Zeitung", the central organ of the Austrian social-democracy, atoned for its "protest" against Fascist murder by providing, in good time, arguments in favour of the death sentences of Horthy's hangmen, and the incitement against "Moscow" by which Horthy-Fascism is seeking to curry favour with and purchase the support of international imperialism.

> "Two Hungarian Communists who returned from Moscow, were to be hanged because they came back to Hungary to organise the Communist Party anew. They would hardly have returned to Hungary of their own accord, as they knew what awaited them as soon as they were discovered. But they had to come back since if they refused to obey the order, the Russian dictatorship would have treated them as traitors."

This was written by the organ of the "left" social-democracy, the "Austro-Marxists," as a protest against the application of the martial law which was decreed by Horthy in connection with the Matuska affair.

Here we have a contribution to the consideration of the question, why the Communists are fighting against social-democracy even when Fascist murder is directly raging in their ranks.

Social-democracy was also represented in the defensive cordon of the police and the military,

which surrounded the murderers when the hangman was tightening the ropes around the necks of *Emerich Sallai* and *Alexander Fürst*.

The vengeance of the proletariat of Hungary must set in hand immediately and without delay. Revenge against the murders of *Emerich Sallai* and *Alexander Fürst*, against those who murdered *Tibor Samuelly*, *Otton Kozvin*, *Eugen Laszlo*, *Oskar Levai*, *Ignaz Gögös*, *Alexander Löwz* and the many others. This revenge is the growing and strengthening of the consistent mass struggle—a struggle which does not stop for a single moment—which the Communist Party of Hungary has begun, but has not, by far, finished, the struggle for the *effective* turn towards the masses, for winning a majority of the working-class and the main masses of the peasantry: The fight for the creation of the conditions requisite for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship.

In this fight there is no standing still!

ON THE BORDER LINE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND "PIATILETKAS"* OF THE SOVIET UNION

(*The results of the first six months of the fourth crowning year of the Piatiletka*).

By M. Tzaguria.

THE TEMPOS OF HEAVY INDUSTRY.

THE past first half-year of 1932, the *crowning* year of the first "Piatiletka" (Five-Year Plan), shows the progressive growth of Socialist industry, which is stimulating a further mighty rise of the entire Socialist economy. The Soviet system, based on the foundations discovered by Marx and Lenin, has, during the past period of the current year, shown to all, who are capable of an objective estimate, its undoubted advantages against the capitalist system of economy not only in the present period of crisis, but also in a period of prosperity. An estimate and a comparison of the motive forces of the capitalist and socialist systems have been given by Lenin, as long ago as 1918, in the following words :—

"Capitalism has long since replaced petty commodity and independent production, under which competition could in a somewhat wide measure develop enterprise, energy and boldness of initiative, by production on a large and the largest scale, by limited liability companies, syndicates and other monopolies . . . Competition, under such capitalism, spells unprecedentally brutal suppression of the enterprise, energy and bold initiative of the masses of population—its gigantic population, 99 per cent. of which are toilers. It spells also the substitution of emulation by the financial fraud, despotism and subservience at the top of the social ladder. Socialism not only does not stifle emulation, but on the contrary creates, for the first time, the possibility of applying it on a really wide scale, on a really mass scale, to really draw a majority of the toilers into an arena of work, where they can make themselves felt, unfold their faculties and manifest their talents, of which there is an untapped mine in the people and which capitalism had trampled upon, suppressed and strangled in their thousands and millions." (Lenin: Vol. XXII. 2nd Premier Edition, page 158.)

On the eve of the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution, which coincides with the successful completion of the "Piatiletka" in four years, the results of the struggle and rivalry between two contradictory systems: the capitalist and the socialist— may be observed with singular clearness. The success of the Socialist system is the result of the initiative of the widest masses in the Soviet Union, in contradistinction to the capitalist system which is based upon the suppression of 99 per cent. of the toilers."

In the third and decisive year of the "Piatiletka" (1931) socialist construction achieved big successes. It gave an excess of the gross production of industry of 20 per cent. as compared with the previous year, and with this, new factories and works were started to the value of 3.6 milliard roubles. The successes of the decisive year created favourable prerequisites for the completion of the "Piatiletka" in four years and development of the production of the current year at still higher tempos. These achievements of the

*From "Piat Let"=Five Years.—Ed.

decisive year have led to a considerable increase in the specific gravity of the U.S.S.R. in world production. Thus, according to the calculations of the German Economic Institute (1932, No. 6), the U.S.S.R. occupied *second* place in world production by the beginning of 1932: the share of U.S.S.R. industry rose from 4.2 per cent. in 1928 to 11 per cent. by the beginning of 1932, which gave it second place after the U.S.A., the share of which correspondingly declined from 41.1 per cent. to 34.8 per cent.

The proletariat achieved fresh successes in the first half of the current year in heavy industry. These successes are bringing near the realisation of the watchword "to overtake and outstrip" by considerably decreasing the distance between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in world production, as noted above.

According to the preliminary data, the gross production of heavy industry, for the past six months, amounted to 6,865 million roubles, exceeding the production of the corresponding period of last year by almost a third. In 1931, the production of the same industry in the first half-year exceeded that for the corresponding period of the preceding year by only 17 per cent.

As is seen, the world crisis, which has demonstrated the incapacity of the bourgoeisie to manage the productive forces, has no influence upon the tempos of socialist construction, socialist economy has laid down an independent path of development. This path has already been indicated by the founders of the Marxist theory, who forecast that "with the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic definite organisation. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones." (F. Engels: "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific") The results of development of the two systems—the socialist, directed "according to a previously thought-out plan" and the capitalist, with its "anarchy of social production," is specially instructive in the present period.

The dynamics of the economic life of these two systems during recent years became almost impossible of comparison, in view of their opposite directions. The following figures of the key industries predetermine, with all clearness, Lenin's question: "Who will beat whom?"

AVERAGE MONTHLY PRODUCTION (IN 1,000ds OF TONS)

	COAL				CAST IRON			
	1913	1929	1932 April	1932 % of 1913	1913	1929	1932 April	1932 % of 1913
U.S.S.R.	2,420	3,500	5,546	229.2	351	360	516	147
U.S.A.	43,100	45,500	22,300	51.7	2,592	3,580	867	33.5
Great Britain	23,237	21,736	20,916	89.6	86	643	322	37.1
Germany	11,729	13,620	8,501	72.5	909	1,117	336	37
France	3,654	4,486	3,847	105.3	746	864	459	61.5

The scissors between the two systems have opened still more widely during recent months—3,757,000 tons of coal were extracted in France in May against 3,847,000 in April, and there was a similar decline in other capitalist countries.

As is seen, even France, which is looked upon as a fortunate country, is not saved by its stream of gold. With a considerable increase in its gold fund in comparison with 1929 (the beginning of the crisis), the production of coal and cast-iron—these fundamental indices of the industrial and general economic level—have sharply declined in France.

The comparisons given above have no significance for the impetuously developing Soviet economy inasmuch as the growing Soviet tempos have to be compared with the sharply declining production of capitalist economy. Nevertheless, a comparison of the Socialist tempos of construction with the flourishing periods of capitalist countries also shows the sharp difference in the tempos of development attending these two systems. The history of the development of industry in capitalist countries does not contain even individual cases of any approach to the tempos of development of Soviet industry—to those tempos, which, in Soviet conditions, have become a matter of course. And if the U.S.S.R. has taken second place to the U.S.A. alone, in the most important branches of industrial economy, such as oil, cast-iron, etc., this occurred, not merely as a result of the fall in production of the capitalist countries, but in a greater measure, owing to the uninterrupted growth in the production of Soviet industry, in which crises are unknown.

In the present phase of development, Soviet industry has overtaken and even outstripped, in regard to a number of the most important products, the industry of the U.S.A., which was entitled to be considered as an unapproachable stronghold of capitalism.

In full conformity with the policy of the Party, the

tempos of growth of production in the Soviet Union are accompanied by corresponding advances in the domain of labour.

Thus the dynamics of the number of workers are characterised by the following figures (in the % of increase to the preceding year) :—

Year	*% of increase*	*Year*	*% of increase*
1924 ..	14.2%	1928.. ..	6.8%
1925 ..	11.9%	1929.. ..	13.6%
1926 ..	13.1%	1930.. ..	29%
1927 ..	5.5%	1931.. ..	20.9%

In May, this year, the increase in heavy industry alone against May, 1931, amounts to 312,000 workers (exclusive of the junior maintenance staff and apprentices), or 17.2 per cent. of the total number. A similar increase is to be observed also in the building industry. Thus the registered number of building workers in April this year exceeded the number for the same month last year by 365,000 workers. In this way, the increase in the number of workers by 1,200,000 (including building workers) as against last year, foreseen in the plan of this one, is being fulfilled.

The plan of this year's industry, confirmed by the XVIIth Party Conference, has indicated an increase in wages by 11 per cent. as compared with last year. Actually, the increase in wages for the past period considerably exceeds the estimate in the plan. Thus, in April, 1932, wages in heavy industry rose by 21.7 per cent. as compared with the wage-level of the same month last year ; the wages in some of the individual industries having increased as follow :— Miners by 27.1 per cent., iron metallurgy 28.6 per cent., engineering by 21.8 per cent., etc. The considerable rise in wages, exceeding the directives in the plan, is to be explained by the corresponding rise in the productivity of the worker, which was stimulated by the six conditions of Comrade Stalin.*

And so, the main results of the economic achievements in the present phase of development of socialist economy may be summarised in the following extract from the resolution of the XVIIth Party Conference† on the directives for the second "Piatiletka" :—

> "Heavy industry has now been placed on a firm footing and thereby our own basis has been created for the completion of the reconstruction of the entire national economy."

IRON METALLURGY AND THE COAL INDUSTRY.

The results of the work of heavy industry for the first six months of the present year deserve special attention, firstly, because the "Piatiletka" will be completed this year in four years, and secondly, because these results of the present year show the tempo Soviet construction is capable of, a construction which develops in complete contradistinction to the dynamics of capitalist economy. The fundamental tasks of the current year which the XVIIth Party Conference has placed before heavy industry are contained in the following directive:—

> "The central task of the whole national economic plan for 1932 is the fulfilment of the productive and building programme for iron metallurgy, coal and engineering."

These leading branches of industry are the levers which are capable of bringing about a further rise in the entire Soviet national economy and still more powerful tempos.

The results in these branches of industry for the first half-year are as follow : In cast-iron, the U.S.S.R. occupied sixth place in world production in the beginning of 1929, with an average monthly production of 360,000 tons. . From January, 1932, the U.S.S.R. advanced to the second place, yielding only to the U.S.A. In May, this year, the U.S.S.R. produced 554,000 tons of cast-iron which exceeds the average monthly production in 1929 by more than a half (54 per cent.). And while the monthly U.S.S.R. production of cast-iron in 1929 was but a little over 10 per cent. of that of U.S.A., the quantity of cast-iron produced in the U.S.S.R., in May, this year, was 70 per cent. of that of the U.S.A. for the same month.

During the course of the first six months of this year, nine new blast furnaces have started operations, with an average output exceeding 5,000 tons per day. Among these furnaces are such world giants as the Magnitogorsk Nos. 1 and 2, the Kusnetzk No. 1 and the Dzerzhinsk No. 7. Of these furnaces, the exploitation of which has begun in the first quarter of the current year, the Magnitogorsk No. 1 and Kuznetzk No. 1 *have not only attained the output projected, but have even exceeded it on some days*. The blast furnaces which have been started later are also successfully overcoming the starting period. The annual output of the three furnaces started in the East (two in Magnitogorsk and one in Kuznetzk) exceeds the actual output of the thirty-four old pre-revolutionary blast furnaces which are working in the Urals. The one Magnitogorsk blast furnace, which has attained an output of 1,000 tons per day will supply more cast-iron in a year than was produced by the entire Polish iron metallurgy in 1931, which produced 348,000 tons of cast-iron in that year. In conformity with the directive of the XVIIth Party Conference, a brilliant victory was won in the past half-year on the most important front of iron metallurgy which has created a durable base for further Socialist construction. Two thousand nine hundred and eighty-four thousand tons of cast-iron was produced in the U.S.S.R. in the past six months, which exceeds by 27.6 per cent. the production of the

*See "New Conditions, New Tasks." Modern Books, Ltd.

†See "The Second Five-Year Plan." Com. Party, 61 King Street, London, W.C.2.

same period in 1931, and that of the second half of the preceding year by 18 per cent. Such tempos of increase are unknown in the history of world iron metallurgy. They are only possible in a socialist economy which is carried on with the active participation of the widest masses of toilers.

The achievements of the first half-year in the coal industry are not less significant, the development of which usually requires prolonged periods of time, and is accompanied by considerable difficulties, just as is the case with iron metallurgy.

For the past half-year, the quantity of coal wound amounted to 32,967,000 tons which is 27.2 per cent. in excess of that in the same period last year. In the second half-year the coal industry will be enriched by a large number of new mines which are now being completed and which will make it possible to raise the output of coal to a higher level.

Of the ninety new coal-mines projected to commence operations in the current year, fifteen mines have started working with an annual output of 6,000,000 tons and an estimated value of 40,000,000 roubles. The technical preparation of the remaining mines will allow the start of twenty new mines with an annual output of 9,700,000 tons and an estimated value of 52,700,000 roubles. On account of these mines, started and pending, alone, the annual output of the coal industry will increase by 15,700,000 tons of coal which is 28 per cent. of the total coal wound in the U.S.S.R. in 1931 (56,000,000 tons).

Among mines which are starting operations, are such giants as the Artem No. 1 of Vostsibuge (the East Siberian Coal Trust) with an annual output of 2,200,000 tons. These large mines, mechanised in all stages of production, exceed the most powerful mines in the Ruhr, which contains the most concentrated mines in the world. For a comparison with the construction in the coal industry in capitalist countries, it will be sufficient to point out that during the whole time following the end of the world war only two new mines have been constructed in the Ruhr area.

SOVIET ENGINEERING.

The construction in iron metallurgy, coal-mining and other branches of industry on the one hand, and collectivising agriculture and transport on the other, made exceptionally high demands upon Soviet engineering even at the beginning of the reconstruction period. And yet, the legacy which the proletariat received from pre-revolutionary Russia in the way of large-scale engineering was exceedingly meagre. Even in regard to simple and non-transportable machinery, home engineering satisfied the demands of the country to but an insignificant degree, and as to more or less complicated machines, Russia depended entirely upon foreign countries and had not the slightest experience in their production.

Realising that the efforts of the Soviet Power must, in the first place, be directed towards the creation and development of Soviet engineering, Comrade Lenin wrote, eleven years ago, in his letter to the All-Russian Congress of Electro-Technicians as follows :

> "The large-scale engineering industry and its application in agriculture is the sole economic basis, the basis of Socialism. The sole basis of the successful fight for the emancipation of humanity from the yoke of capital, against the extermination and crippling of tens of millions of people, and for a decision on the question whether the odds in the division of the earth will be held by the beast of prey, be he British, German, Japanese, American or any other."

As is seen, Comrade Lenin considered that the fundamental condition prerequisite for the victory of Socialism was the creation of large-scale Socialist engineering. The realisation of the directives of Lenin for the creation of a base for Socialism proceeded with great difficulties. The heavy legacy of Czarist Russia, in the form of technical backwardness, was the main factor which retarded its development. But the stubborn Bolshevist persistency of the proletariat overcame all obstacles and set up a powerful Socialist base—large-scale engineering. Contrary to the capitalist countries, engineering is impetuously developing in the U.S.S.R., mastering advanced world technique and enriching the latter by its inventions.

The value of the production of agricultural machinery was 56,400,000 roubles in 1913, in 1931 it amounted to (in comparable prices) 441,000,000 roubles, an excess of 782 per cent. over the pre-war level.

Electrical production in 1913 amounted to 74,800,000 roubles and in 1931 it rose to 980,500,000 roubles, which exceeds the pre-war level by 1,300 per cent.

Notwithstanding the fact that the results of the gross production (in 1926/27 prices) of engineering in the decisive year (1931) were extremely high, exceeding those of 1930 by more than 40 per cent., engineering in the present year achieved further brilliant results as compared with the high results of 1931. For the past six months the gross engineering production (exclusive of metal-finishing processes) amounted to over 3 milliard roubles, exceeding the corresponding period of last year by 35.5 per cent. So impetuous is the growth of engineering evoked by the growing needs of Soviet national economy, which is being reconstructed on a new and high technical base. The huge quantitative growth is accompanied by no less significant achievements in the domain of technical improvement, directed towards the manufacture of more universal machinery on the one hand, and on the other, to a new type of machine, dictated by the peculiarities of the socialist form of economy.

There is no equipment and machinery, which, however technically complicated, cannot be provided at present by Soviet engineering. For the Soviet world giants, such as the enterprises in iron metallurgy, the chemical and engineering plants, the electrical power stations, etc., now in construction, Soviet engineering is successfully producing the most powerful blooming mills, turbines, hydro-generators, universal and powerful steam and electrical locomotives, boring machines, etc., orders for which are placed in our works in competition with similar machines ordered by the Soviet authorities in the largest and best capitalist enterprises. Despite the exceptionally high rate of development of Soviet large-scale engineering and its technical achievements the needs of Soviet national economy for machinery and equipment are far from being covered.

INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

The achievements indicated in the sphere of engineering are laying a durable foundation beneath collectivising agriculture, the mechanisation of which is being realised by the exceptionally high tempo, dictated by the tempestuous growth of the socialised forms of agriculture.

The Soviet machine in agriculture is one of the main factors which is finally uprooting capitalism in the village, and which predetermines the complete liquidation of the capitalist elements in the land of the Soviets and the complete abolition of classes in general.

As a result of the firm line of the Party on the industrialisation of the U.S.S.R.,

> "The Soviet country has become transformed from a land of petty and the pettiest agriculture into a land of agriculture on the largest scale in the world, on the basis of collectivisation, development of ' Sovkhozes ' (Soviet State Farms) and a wide application of machine technique. This victory of Socialism, which solved the most important and most difficult problem of the Proletarian Revolution, is of world-wide historical significance." (From the resolution of XVIIth Party Conference on the directives for the second "Piatiletka.")

The degradation of capitalist agriculture, which is continuing to increase against the background of the general crisis of the entire capitalist system, is bringing with it new and exceptionally hard deprivations and poverty for the toiling peasantry. The peasant farmers are not merely not enriched by new and perfected machinery under capitalism, but are frequently forced to sell at starvation prices in masses owing to their impoverishment. Soviet agriculture, on the other hand, received 39,879 tractors from the Soviet factories in 1931 as against 12,727 tractors in the preceding year, which is an increase, compared with the same period of last year, of 76 per cent., and is almost double the output of the whole of 1930.

The output of the tractor plants working at the end of the first half-year exceeds 100,000 tractors per annum. Besides this, the powerful Tscheliabinsk plant for caterpillar tractors is successfully completing its construction and should start working during this year.

The mass supply of agriculture with tractors, made it necessary for the agricultural engineering works to switch over to the manufacture of complicated tractor appliances instead of equipment required in horse-ploughing, and this involved considerable technical difficulties. But despite these difficulties, the output of tractor ploughs of the new type (wheat tractors) for the past five months exceeded that of the same period last year by 97 per cent., and the corresponding increase in tractor cultivators was equivalent to 40 per cent.

More significant successes were achieved in the harvest campaign, which requires the most and heaviest labour in agricultural production, the mechanisation of which is indicated by one of the six conditions of Comrade Stalin.

The following figures are a convincing proof of the successes in the harvest campaign of the past half-year :—

Output of	*First half-year of*		*% of*
	1931	1932	*increase*
Combines	961	4,020	418
Sheaf-binder tractors ..	1,038	6,038	382
Hay-mowers	3,716	9,683	260
Cotton harvesting machines	80	786	—
Flax threshing machines	40	4,575	—
Potato diggers	1,861	4,686	—

Such tempos of production, even though they do not completely satisfy the needs of agriculture, are, of course, only possible under Soviet economy, in which crises are unknown.

The machines mentioned considerably lighten the heavy labour of the peasant in production and raise productivity and revenue. In the manufacture of combines, which many advanced capitalist countries do not produce at all, successes have been achieved, notwithstanding the fact that the specially constructed Saratoff combine plant, with an output of 26,000 combines per annum, has only commenced delivery at the end of the first half-year, and has not yet fully completed its starting period. The achievements of Soviet engineering plants are not less significant, though more difficult to estimate, in the matter of inventions for the improvement of machinery and their adaptation to the socialist forms of labour. Among these are machines which have brought about a complete revolution, in certain processes of agricultural production. Thus, in the

beginning of the first quarter of this year, the production of a new ploughing and sowing machine was planned, which would simultaneously plough and sow, 4,474 of these machines were actually delivered in the same quarter. As will be observed, the directive of Lenin on the creation of large-scale engineering "and its application to agriculture" is being realised under the experienced leadership of his best disciple and the leader of the Party, Comrade Stalin.

The indisputable and magnificent achievements in the supply of agriculture with universal machines, have not only strengthened collective farming, by providing it with a material and technical basis, but are increasing the quantity of agricultural production year by year.

The second substantial factor in raising the production of agriculture is the brilliant success achieved in the supply of agriculture with high quality fertilisers. Thus, 354,585 tons of super-phosphates have been manufactured in the present first half-year as compared with 264,587 tons in the same period last year. This is equivalent to an increase of 34 per cent., while the output in June exceeds that of the same month last year by 47 per cent.

As a result of this important assistance of industry to agriculture, the yield of the grain harvest (according to the careful estimate of the Central Management of the National Economic Accountancy) is anticipated to increase by 500 million poods (or 8½ million tons) as compared with last year's harvest.

The great reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of collectivisation is proceeding, not only without any quantitative detriment, but with a considerable increase in its production ; this must be considered as an exceptionally big achievement of Soviet power.

On the border line between the first Five-Year Plan and the second, the Soviet Power achieved the formation of its own mighty base, in the shape of heavy industry, which is a sure lever in the completion of the reconstruction of the entire national economy on socialist principles.

The Soviet Union is successfuly completing the first Five-Year Plan, and is entering upon the second under the dominating influence of socialist forms in agriculture also. The successful conclusion of the Five-Year Plan in four years, which means the completion of the foundation of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., creates a distinguishing difference in the entire national economy, and especially agriculture. The predominating position of socialist forms of labour in agriculture, creates a new and more favourable situation, both in agriculture itself, and its relation towards town and industry.

The new laws on the agricultural tax, the plan of grain collections and the development of Kolhoz (collective farms) trading, etc., which have recently been enacted by Soviet Power, are based upon the achievements indicated above and are of the greatest political significance.

In the present phase of the reconstruction of agriculture, when the decisive areas have completed their all-round collectivisation, or have nearly done so, the fundamental problem is the economic and organisational consolidation of the kolhozes. And it is the object of the new laws to solve this urgent problem.

The taxation policy of the Soviet Power, which is one of the important levers in the solution of the most important problems, is directed this year, towards the consolidation of the kolhozes, the timely fulfilment of the productive and collection plans, the development of technical crops, which form a serious base for light industry, and, finally, the development of kolhoz trading.

The new law on agricultural taxation stimulates in the first place, the consolidation of the kolhoz form, the artel (association of toilers) by granting them advantages in respect of the taxation on their revenue, as compared with companies for the public tillage of the land and the individual peasantry.

The local organs are granted the right to lower the rates of taxation of kolhozes as yet weak, with the retention of last year's principle of the complete release of poor kolhozes from taxation.

In regard to the individual middle peasants, last year's system is, in the main, retained, and in this connection the tax commissions are empowered to release poor individual peasants completely or partially from the agricultural tax. Side by side with this, the kulak farms are individually taxed in accordance with their actual income.

As will be observed, the new taxation law not only consolidates the basic positions attained by the kolhozes, but creates conditions favourable for the further advance of the socialist elements in the village. It must be specially emphasised that all receipts from the agricultural tax are converted to the local funds of the agricultural areas and urban soviets, half the receipts being incorporated in the budget of the rural soviet. This circumstance will, in a large measure, stimulate economic and cultural construction in the villages and localities and shows the difference, in principle, between the capitalist and the Soviet taxation policies. The most important point in the new agricultural tax is that it stimulates kolhoz trading.

> "With the object of the development of kolhoz trading, the revenue from the sale of agricultural produce through the kolhoz booths and bazaars is exempt from taxation. Kolhoz and individual farmers are similarly exempt from taxation if they sell the surplus of their production through the kolhoz booths and bazaars."

This opening up of kolhoz trading is accompanied

by a considerable increase in the grain resources which will remain in the village. Thus, with an increase in the harvest of the current year, which is estimated at 500 million poods in respect of grain, the State plan of collections from the holhozes and individual peasants has been reduced by 264 million poods, as compared with the plan of collection for 1931.

With this, the law categorically proposes "to adopt measures to root out private dealers and merchant-speculators who will try to enrich themselves on kolhoz trading." The whole totality of the question, which this new law solves, shows that the present stage of socialist construction has already created the conditions requisite for the development of trading, based upon the socialist sectors. In this new situation, the development of kolhoz trading, which is stimulating the marketing of agriculture, represents a further development of socialist construction. Only the social-fascists, these professional calumniators of the Soviet Power and enemies of the proletariat or those incapable of comprehending the exceedingly simple principles of development of Soviet economy, can regard the new laws as a "retreat from socialist principles."

The new laws not only consolidate the kolhozes, economically and organisationally, but they create also an additional and a highly substantial source of food supplies for the workers and all toilers in the town. This question is an urgent one in the present phase of socialist development. One of the main peculiarities of this phase is the circumstance that

> "the worker of to-day, our Soviet worker, wants to live in such a way that all his material and cultural requirement should be satisfied in respect to food supplies, housing and meeting his cultural and all other needs" (Stalin: Leninism).

The new law on agriculture, creating as it does a new source of food supply, is directed, first of all, toward meeting the growing requirements of the working-class, which is fighting with enthusiasm on the front of Socialism.

The builders of Socialism are at present taking an active part in the elaboration of the second Five-Year Plan on the basis of the directives given by the XVII. Party Conference. The directives of the Party on one of the main tasks of the second Five-Year Plan, —the rise in the well-being of the masses of workers and peasants—are put in the following words :—

> "The conference considers that the provision of the population with the main commodities of consumption, including articles of food, must increase not less than twofold or threefold at the end of the second Five-Year Plan as compared with the end of the first."

Having successfully completed the first Five-Year Plan in four years, the working-class and the toiling peasantry have all the conditions requisite not only for a still more powerful unfolding of big-scale industry, but also for a radical solution of the burning question —the supply of the population with articles of general consumption. This problem will be solved in the second Five-Year Plan on the basis of the further reconstruction of the entire national economy in still more powerful tempos.

Side by side with these economic problems of the second Five-Year Plan, political problems have been raised, the complete solution of which will be " the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom." (F. Engels: Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.)

This historic directive reads :—

> "The fundamental political problem of the second Five-Year Plan is the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and classes in general, the complete abolition of the causes which give rise to class distinctions and exploitation, and the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in economics, and the consciousness of men, and the transformation of the whole population into conscious and active builders of a class-less Socialist society" (From the resolution of the XVII. Party Conference on the Directives for the Second Five-Year Plan.)

Such are the magnificent perspectives which have been put before the U.S.S.R. by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—perspectives, the guarantee of the realisation of which are the successes of socialist construction, the victory of the first Five-Year Plan.

All these magnificent successes in the construction of Socialism have only become possible on the basis of the undeviating prosecution of the general line of the Party, and the determined struggle against the capitulation policy of Right-wing opportunism, this chief danger in the present stage, against the "Left" deviation, and the destruction of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.

THE C.P.G.B. AND TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

By J. Shields.

DURING 1931 and the opening months of the present year, there has been a big increase in working-class militancy and determination to struggle in Britain. The struggle of the workers against the capitalist attacks on their standard of life is expressing itself very sharply, particularly in the intense strike wave. An examination of strike statistics for recent years, as published by the Ministry of Labour, gives a picture of how the struggle is developing, although it has to be borne in mind that these so-called official figures by no means include all the struggles, many of which (such as those in small factories in numerous cases for instance) are never reported in the official lists.

Year.	*Strikes.*	*Workers Involved.*	*Work days lost.*
1927 ..	308	108,000	1,170,000
1928 ..	302	124,000	1,390,000
1929 ..	431	533,000	8,290,000
1930 ..	422	307,000	4,399,000
1931 ..	420	491,800	6,983,000

These figures show that last year, with the exception of 1929, witnessed the biggest strike wave in Britain during the past five years, that is to say, since the year 1926, when the general strike took place.

The strike wave is still continuing in 1932. During the first four months of the present year it is officially intimated that there have been 136 strikes, involving over 45,000 workers and resulting in the loss of 478,000 working days.

Despite the stubborn resistance of the workers however, which these figures indicate, the British bourgeoisie succeeded in further worsening working-class conditions. During 1931 the wages of the workers were reduced by £405,000 per week, the equivalent of a 2 per cent. cut on all wages paid, which is the heaviest decrease registered since 1922. In addition, more intense rationalisation measures were introduced into the workshops and factories, while a total of 293,000 workers in industry had their working hours increased.

A fact which can be noted from the above, however, is that so far the bourgeoisie is having much more difficulty in securing wage-cuts, due to the stubborn resistance of the workers in Britain, than in many other countries. British capitalism is now attempting to catch up to other countries as hard as it can by intensifying its attacks.

The chief reason for the employers' successes in the lowering of working-class standards was the treacherous, sabotaging, and strike-breaking rôle played by the reformist trade union bureaucracy. The reformist leaders were able, as a result of the control which they retain and exercise over the trade union machinery and cunning manœuvres, to prevent the workers from achieving success in the fight, and helped the employers in securing their demands, wage reductions and worsened conditions. In various instances, where the pressure of the workers was very great, the trade union leaders did not hesitate to lead strike struggles. They did this for the purpose of fooling the workers, and covering their own opposition to the policy of struggle, while at the same time, under a show of resistance to the employers, they used the situation for the latter's demands. Some idea of how effectively the trade union bureaucracy helped in the imposition of wage-cuts, is shown by the fact that more than three-fourths of the total weekly wage decrease (£305,000 out of £405,000) were effected under arrangements made by conciliation boards or joint bodies of employers and trade union leaders, arbitration methods and sliding-scale agreements operated with the aid of the reformists. As most of the strikes which took place were under the leadership of the trade unions and so under the influence and control of the bureaucracy, this enabled the latter to perpetrate their treachery, despite the militant mood and feeling of the rank and file.

The deepening crisis of British capitalism, the sharpening of the offensive against the workers, is hastening the development of the process of radicalisation in the mass of the proletariat. The disillusionment of the workers in the reformists is growing, and a widening cleavage is manifesting itself between the rank and file and the reactionary leaders. There is abundant evidence of this which demonstrates that bigger strata of the workers are moving to the left.

Instances of this can be found, for example, in the numerous strike and other ballots which clearly indicate the mood of the rank and file. In the Lancashire textile area, recent ballots have shown decisive majorities cast in favour of taking strike action. The recent vote at the Miners' Federation delegate conference some weeks ago, showed 239,000 votes for rejecting the continuance of the seven-and-a-half-hour day in the pits, as against 278,000 for non-rejection. Thus, despite the full weight of the reformist officials being brought to bear to crush all opposition, they could only succeed in obtaining a bare 39,000 majority out of over half-a-million votes.

With regard to the recent cotton workers' ballots, the reformist leaders introduced a very cunning tactic for the purpose of creating confusion and disorganising the workers. They decided to take a ballot in connection with the termination of all mill agreements by the employers in June. But how did

they proceed about it? A ballot paper was issued which called for a vote on two questions, one, for or against strike action, the other, for or against negotiations. Both these questions had to be voted on simultaneously. The ballot resulted in a big majority being cast in favour of strike. On the question of negotiations, however, there was also a majority for negotiations as against no negotiations, although this vote was many thousands less than those cast for strike action. The reformist leaders thereupon stated that the ballot was indecisive, gave no indication of the feeling of the rank and file, and that another ballot was necessary on the strike issue. This trick had the effect of confusing many workers in the second ballot, and led to their refraining from voting, but nevertheless a majority was again cast in favour of strike action. At once the union officials declared that since this majority was only a majority of those who had voted and did not constitute a majority of all those affected by the employers' decision who were members of the union, it could only be taken as authorising the opening up of negotiations with the employers. They therefore refused to declare a strike, and showed very definitely that their whole aim in making use of the ballot was for the purpose of weakening the forces of the workers, for preventing preparations for action, and deliberately confusing and disrupting the struggle.

The radicalisation of the masses is seen not only by the ballot results, but in the rapid growth of big unofficial movements in the trade unions, in the various unofficial strikes which are taking place, etc. The unofficial movements are a very important expression of the increasing disillusionment which has taken hold of the trade union membership, and the fast-growing opposition to the policy of the bureaucracy. In several of the big unions unofficial opposition movements have developed around various issues, with a big mass backing amongst the membership.

In the B.I.S.A.K.T.A. (British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association) what is called the "unofficial movement" has gained wide influence amongst the membership, especially in West Wales.

This movement has grown up around the opposition of the rank and file to cuts in union benefits by the officials, and the very high salaries paid to the latter, and in support of the demand for democratic membership rights in control of the union's affairs. At its first conference held last September in Swansea, the "unofficial movement" had an attendance of 101 delegates representing sixty-one trade union branches. It has drawn up a programme containing seven demands for the democratising of the union, publishes a duplicated sheet of its own, and has its own collectors in several of the factories who take up regular collections on its behalf. Lately this movement has been also devoting attention to the question of the fight against wage-cuts and the Means Test.

Again, in the A.E.U., there has developed what is known as the "Members' Rights Committee," a movement of the rank and file for fighting against the expulsion of militants from the union and securing the reinstatement of those members who have already been expelled by the leadership. The "Members' Rights Movement" has won the support of scores of branches of the union throughout the country, and alarmed the reformist leaders of the A.E.U. The activities of this movement are now being concentrated on questions of wages and working conditions in addition to those concerning union policy. Within the Boilermakers' Union an unofficial "Reorganisation Committee" has been set up in definite opposition to the officials. This committee was established at a conference held in Glasgow last February, and has the support of twenty-three branches in Scotland. It aims at bringing about changes in the unions, rules and constitution and changing the present leadership, and has set to work to extend its basis for driving ahead along these lines.

A movement with similar aims is in existence in the Furnishing Trade Union (N.A.F.T.A.), which calls itself the "Revision of Rules Committee," and has good backing amongst the membership, whilst in the Building Trades Union there is the unofficial "Builders' Forward Movement" created by the rank and file, which has won considerable influence in advocating a programme of demands for improvement in wages and hours. All these movements are directed against the trade union bureaucracy.

In the Transport and General Workers' Union, the revolt of the rank and file against the notorious dictatorial methods and domination by Bevin, the secretary, and the Executive officials became more and more pronounced, and finally reached a culminating point on the part of the dockers' section in Scotland. Owing to the fact that the Communist Party and the Minority Movement did not take any leading part in this movement and had very little influence in it, they were unable to exercise an effect upon it. A breakaway took place, and a new union called the Scottish Transport and General Workers' Union was set up. This union now consists of the dockers in Glasgow, Grangemouth (where it is leading a strike), and Leith, and has a membership of approximately 6,000.

The growing radicalisation of the workers also shows itself in many other directions.* The recent strikes in the Scottish coalfield led by the red union, the United Mineworkers of Scotland, and Clothing Workers in London by the U.C.W.U., are a

* Since this article was written, numerous other events have occurred, e.g., E.T.U. unofficial conference, Scottish N.U.R., London T. and G.W., etc., etc.

case in point. Finally, the strike wave now sweeping Lancashire and the London busmen. Then there are other strikes which have been conducted under the leadership of the Minority Movement, the most important of which were the Lucas strike in Birmingham, the unofficial strikes of the dockers in different ports last January, and a number of strikes in the cotton areas. The number of such strikes have been comparatively few, but still there have been more than formerly.

Then, again, there has been the official participation of numerous trade union branches in the unemployed campaign against the Means Test, which the General Council of the Trade Union Congress is seeking to sabotage by its creation of local unemployed associations under its control, in opposition to the National Unemployed Workers' Movement. This move of the reformist union leaders has the support and assistance of the Labour Party and I.L.P. mandarins, and is an attempt to split the ranks of the unemployed. In contrast to this, however, is the support which the union rank and file are giving to the unemployed in the struggle. Already twenty miners' lodges in the anthracite area in South Wales have passed resolutions declaring in favour of strike action against the Means Test. At the recent National Conference called by the N.U.W.M. to deal with the fight against the Means Test, delegates attended, elected by 119 branches of twenty-three different trade union organisations, plus delegates from half-a-dozen trades councils.

Many union branches have been to the forefront in passing resolutions condemning imperialist war and pledging fight against it. An outstanding feature of union branch activity on this issue has been given in the Amalgamated Engineering Union. One of the London district officials of this union wrote a scurrilous attack upon the Soviet Union, in the union's monthly journal, in which he designated the U.S.S.R. "an enemy power." This called forth a storm of protest and denunciation from the membership, and as a result of the pressure of the branches, the Executive of the union was compelled to take steps to disavow Lawrence's viewpoint and attitude. The activity and success of the A.E.U. rank and file in this instance, is an indication of what can be accomplished in the unions, if the Party and the M.M. really undertake intensive work. This is borne out by the voting at various annual union conferences held this year, where, notwithstanding the weakness of Party and M.M. work within the unions concerned, mass pressure against the policy of the reformist leaders, was revealed.

At the Railway Clerks' Conference, it was decided by an overwhelming majority to re-admit the expelled Communist members to the union. At the conference of Printing and Paper Workers the official proposal to ban M.M. members from official positions was only carried by the Chairman's casting vote, whilst in the Boot and Shoe Operatives', a resolution to lift the ban on election of Communists and M.M. members to official positions received nearly one-third of the votes.

Winning the masses of workers in the unions to support a policy of revolutionary struggle becomes a matter of the greatest importance to the revolutionary working-class movement. There are still about four million workers organised in trade union ranks in Britain. Upon these and also upon the mass of the unorganised workers, the trade unions exercise a decisive influence. The decisions of the unions, especially with regard to wages and conditions, have a far-reaching effect on the working-class as a whole. The need for active Party work in the unions is obvious. The possibilities for accomplishing this can be said to be excellent, provided the work is taken up in real earnest and carried out with the necessary conviction and energy by the revolutionary vanguard, concentrating with persistent attention on the everyday problems and issues in the unions and the factories.

The carrying through of this task is an urgent necessity for the rallying and mobilising of the workers' forces for struggle against the capitalist offensive, imperialist war and the danger of anti-Soviet intervention, besides constituting one of the most effective means for dealing a decisive blow against the Labour Party, of which the unions form the most important part, thus breaking its reactionary grip upon the masses. Efforts are being made by the union leaders to use the growing dissatisfaction of the membership for their own ends. The recent speech of Hutchinson president (until recently) of the A.E.U. at its annual National Committee Conference shows this. This reformist declared: "Upon the shoulders of the T.U. movement would fall the brunt of the battle against the present Government and the host of wage-cutting employers who had secured MacDonald, Snowden and Baldwin as their henchmen. The cut in unemployment benefit was an indirect attack on wages. Now was the time for a great T.U. drive to recover lost ground and safeguard wages against savage cuts."

How has the Communist Party of Great Britain conducted its work in relation to the trade unions? Is the Party seizing on this question in a period now characterised by an intense growth in the activity of the masses, for strengthening its influence and connections with the workers in the unions, for winning over the rank and file to the support of revolutionary policy and the building up of a broad mass revolutionary trade union opposition? Here it must be said that this is a sphere in which the Party has very much lagged behind. Work within the reformist trade unions has been one of the weakest phases of Party activity, which has been marked by serious under-estimation and neglect over a con-

siderable period. It is only during the past few months that an attempt has begun to radically alter this state of affairs, and certain improvement has become noticeable. The first beginning in this respect is bringing good success, as is shown, for instance, in the rousing of great feeling in the union branches in support of the Party's anti-war campaign, and the establishment of closer connections with the masses in the factories and unions. Very big weaknesses still exist, however, and there are a number of wrong and dangerous tendencies which hamper and retard the further carrying through of the work, which require to be speedily eliminated.

There is still a grave under-estimation of the importance of trade union work prevalent in the Party, a lack of clarity, and even strong oppositional tendencies to trade union activity expressed In a recent issue of the "Daily Worker," for example, it was reported that :

"In spite of the unanimous acceptance of the C.C. resolution, there exists an under-estimation of all trade union work in Lancashire, especially in Burnley. Our comrades not only do not carry out any trade union work, but some of them, during the strike in Burnley, tried to agitate the workers not to pay trade union dues." ("Daily Worker," 4/4/32)

It is not only in Lancashire, however, that such sentiments are to be found in the Party. In other districts it has been known for Party members to indulge in talk that "the unions are played out." An outstanding instance of this is to be found in the case of the Balham group of the London South-West local. This group went so far as to declare in a recent resolution that it was dangerous to emphasise the need for work within the unions, and actually put the question of factory work as an alternative. In this case we had the view being expressed that it was hopeless to work inside the reformist unions, that it was impossible to fight for the winning over of the union branches, for their transformation into organs of the class struggle of the workers, and the extremely harmful and dangerous contrasting of work in the unions with work in the factories. Such an attitude and policy simply plays right into the hands of the reformist leaders, and is tantamount to abandoning the revolutionary class fight for the winning of the masses of organised workers. It is an expression of a deep disbelief in the necessity for, and possibility of, drawing the workers in the reformist unions into the revolutionary struggle.

This same idea is also expressed in another tendency which has manifested itself namely, a demand for the setting up of "new red unions." In this regard it was reported a few months ago concerning a certain Party group in an important district that :

"With the theory of ' red unions ' there has been a clear demonstration that very little progress is possible in this group until this is stamped out."

Many other examples of a similar character could be quoted to show the wrong views and attitude existing on this question, and the opposition which is often displayed against working inside the unions. The big weakness of the Minority Movement further emphasises the point. After years of existence the M.M. still remains without deep stable roots in the unions and factories, an organisation boxed up within itself, instead of a powerful lever for harnessing the discontented masses for systematic and sustained struggle on a wide scale on all important economic issues in the factories and unions, drawing the masses on the largest scale possible into the fight against the bureaucracy. There has been much theorising about the necessity for building a mass revolutionary trade union opposition, but instead of this being accompanied by intensive practical work to this end, there has been neglect and mechanical application of decisions where these were applied at all. In this connection one can refer to the lack of attention given to the big unofficial movements which have come into being. These movements have developed right under our very nose, yet their importance and potentialities have been largely unnoticed and neglected. There has been a failure to realise that the advantages which they present must be utilised to the full for the development of revolutionary mass work. They offer big opportunities for mobilising and winning over the workers for the struggle, which must be grasped and not allowed to slip past. There are big masses of workers in the unions who have strong feelings on the necessity for reorganising measures, who are coming up sharply against the reformist bureaucracy. We should be busy drawing these workers together, developing their consciousness, and organising them in the struggle for transforming the branches into organs of class struggle. In this way the character and scope of the Party's work can be considerably improved and strengthened, wide influence won, and greater facilities opened up for the connecting up of the work inside the trade unions with the issues confronting the workers in the factories, in their daily fight against capitalism. Instead of this, however, the work conducted in the trade union branches has often been of a very sectarian character. In some of the branches and lodges where Party members are in leading positions, their work is often of the most formal type, and differs very little from the attitude adopted by the reformists. There is an absence of concrete proposals being brought forward for effecting an exposure of the bureaucrats, lack of painstaking daily work, and the making use of every means to strengthen our position, failure to mobilise the union members on burning issues, inability to connect work in the branches with work in factories, and many

grave opportunist tendencies exhibited. All these factors prevent the Party from overcoming its isolation from the masses, and must be thoroughly rooted out.

To overcome these defects and shortcomings, is one of the most important tasks confronting the Party. To do this it is necessary to secure thorough clarity and understanding amongst the Party membership on the necessity and importance of trade union work, and to bring about a turn in the entire methods of this activity. For this purpose the decisions of the VIII. Plenum of the R.I.L.U. and the January resolution of the C.C. should be widely popularised and discussed, and measures taken to ensure that every Party member and unit strives to apply them immediately. It is essential to insist on the necessity of every Party member being a member of a trade union organisation, for active participation in the work. Inside the unions, the Communists and the adherents of the Minority Movement must seize hold of all the grievances of the workers, formulate concrete proposals and measures which will secure their backing, and systematically organise the workers for struggle. By careful explanation of the issues involved and how these can be taken up in the interests of the workers, as well as by their everyday example in the practical work, the Communists must demonstrate that they are the best and most capable fighters for the class interests of the masses. On all immediate questions such as those concerning wages, working conditions, strike policy, struggle against the Means Test, the attempts to split the unemployed by the reformist leaders, struggle against war and intervention, membership rights in the unions, etc., the workers themselves must work out the concrete demands of the struggle. The rejection or sabotage of such demands by the bureaucracy, who are against the fight, must be used for effecting a concrete exposure of their treacherous anti-working-class rôle, and for rallying the workers to carry on the fight, against the wishes and efforts of the union leaders for the driving out of these trade union bureaucrats from all trade union offices.

Throughout the union branches and the factories an intensive campaign should be conducted in connection with the Trade Union Congress. This campaign should bring the important questions before the workers widely to the forefront, such as struggle against wage-cuts, strike policy, fight against war and intervention, struggle against the Means Test, etc., formulate demands for the taking of concrete action, and submit the policy of the T.U.C. and the leaders of the various reformist unions to a searching and thorough criticism.

Particular attention should be given to ensuring that the question of the campaign against imperialist war and threat of intervention in the Soviet Union are taken up at the T.U.C. and that concrete proposals are outlined for the taking of the necessary measures to prevent the transport of munitions and war materials from Britain. Cargoes of munitions are continually being sent out from Britain to supply the Japanese imperialist warmongers in the Far East. The Party has conducted excellent mass agitation on this question, but this is quite insufficient. Decisive action which will put a stop to munition transport is imperative. To bring this about the issue needs to be very sharply raised with the workers, particularly in the dockers' and railwaymen's unions, amongst the seamen, and all those concerned directly with the handling of this material. This should be done in the most concrete way, with carefully thought out proposals being brought forward in the union branches for discussion and decision.

At the present time the leaders of the I.L.P. are professing to campaign against war and the threat of anti-Soviet intervention. This they do because of the pressure of the rank and file. It is necessary to build the united front from below with the I.L.P. workers in the unions for the specific undertaking of measures of action, which will convince these workers that not only must action be taken, but will also bring out in practice the sham character of the I.L.P. leaders' "campaign." There are I.L.P. workers who really desire to fight against war. We should draw their attention to the fact that many I.L.P.'ers hold official positions in the unions, but refrain from taking any steps to use this to make the fight against war a real one.

It is along these lines, through developing the utmost activity in the unions on all issues confronting the workers, that the road lies to the building up of the revolutionary forces and developing the Party into a real mass Communist Party.

In all of this work, the "Daily Worker" must play an important rôle. It has the task of giving a strong lead on all the issues and grievances arising in the factories and unions, presenting clearly the weak and the strong sides of the work, criticising and bringing out suggestions for improvement and showing how these can be carried through. The letter which appeared in the "Daily Worker" on May 31st from a worker correspondent under the heading "Trade Union Notes Criticised," is an example of the feelings and attitude of the workers with regard to shortcomings in the handling of the question by the paper which requires to be carefully noted and dealt with. The letter said :

"Re your article in Monday's issue under Trade Union Notes, we would like to express our views on it after reading and thoroughly discussing it.

"First, the headline ' The A.E.U.'s decline' was, in our opinion, wrong, since it gave the impression that the ' Daily ' was almost chuckling over the fact. We consider that a heading ' Some Facts about the A.E.U.' would have been more suitable.

"Second, the statistics given should have been tabulated and not treated as if they were spicy items. Third, the information about new machines, etc., should have found a place in a campaign article rather than in T.U. notes.

"Fourth, the article as a whole was despondent and defeatist in character, and as such was not worthy of the space accorded to it in our 'Daily.' Re the paragraph reading: 'This union has nothing . . etc.,' we must emphatically repudiate this statement.

"The A.E.U. is composed of members and officials and while the Peckham Road gang control things at the top we must fight against them by controlling things at the bottom. The members' rights movement is showing that this can be done.

"Remember, the union belongs to us, the rank and e, and not to the E.C., and let us fight for it.

"We suggest a very valuable and interesting regular feature could be made of T.U. notes. In view of this we pledge ourselves to acquaint the 'Daily Worker' with any little interesting items of T.U. news that may come our way.

"In conclusion, we would like to hear the views of other workers on this matter if possible.—*Worker Correspondent.*"

The above letter shows that we do not write and deal with union questions in such a way as to really convince the workers.

This attitude is not only confined to the question of writing, but also reflects itself often in the way our comrades speak to the workers in the union.

But a few improvements in the trade union activity of the Party are noticeable recently. On the whole, however, the work is still very far from being satisfactory. It can only be made so by putting an end to all neglect and passivity, eradicating and overcoming all obstacles and wrong tendencies which yet stand in the way, with the maximum energy and determination.

HOW THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY CARRIES OUT SELF-CRITICISM AND CONTROLS FULFILMENT OF DECISIONS

By J. TSIRUL.

THE Communist Party of America has scored several political successes during last year. It led a number of great strikes, including the miners' strike in Pittsburg in the summer, which continued for fully three months, the Kentucky strike last winter, etc. The Communist Party is putting up strenuous resistance to the capitalist attack upon the living standards of the working masses, organising the workers for the fight. It is the only organiser and leader of the great masses of the unemployed in the struggle for an improvement of their situation, for State insurance, for unemployed benefits. It organised and led the unemployed "hunger march" in December, 1931. It was in charge of the unemployed demonstration in Detroit last spring. The Communist Party alone has rendered effective assistance to the war veterans in their action. It alone is conducting a real campaign against the preparation for a new world war, and intervention against the U.S.S.R. The Communist Party alone points the revolutionary way out of the crisis to the toiling masses. As a result, the influence of the Party over the toiling masses of America grows. Unfortunately, the Communist Party of America, like the Communist Parties of a number of other capitalist countries, has not yet learned to consolidate its political influence over the masses organisationally. This inability frequently negates the political achievements which the Party has secured by its work. It cannot be said, however, that the Party is unaware of this fact. The Party, as represented by its leading staff, knows its weaknesses, and frequently criticises the defects of its work in the most pitiless manner, yet the situation has not improved in the least. At every Plenum of its C.C. there is the broadest and most merciless self-criticism. But this self-criticism is very frequently unaccompanied by the preparation and realisation of those concrete measures necessary to eliminate the defects criticised. The comrades frequently appear like penitent sinners in their self-criticism. After indulging in criticism of their work, they feel satisfied, and everything continues as before. The results of such self-criticism are just the contrary of what was expected of it and against which the Party organisations were warned by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., which pointed out in its statement on self-criticism (June, 1928) that without concrete measures designed to improve the work *"the slogan of criticism and self-criticism develops into a scrap of paper,* which merely compromises this

slogan, the Party leadership, and the Party itself in the eyes of the masses."

Self-criticism is not an aim in itself, as some comrades think, but only a means towards an end. It must be very closely linked up with the other method of Bolshevist work, control of the execution of decisions. No serious improvement of the work is possible without a well-organised control of fulfilment of decisions. At the same time it is necessary to say that while the method of self-criticism has been fully adopted by the Communist Party of America, it has not yet given any thought to the serious organisation of control of execution of decisions. Therein lies the weakness of the Party.

The discrepancy between extensive self-criticism, and the complete absence of any control of fulfilment of decisions appears most strikingly in the organisational field, leading to the organisational backwardness of the Party. We shall therefore touch upon several questions of the organisational work of the Party which constitute the weakest spots in its work. These questions are: (1) The condition and work of the Party cells and the work of the Party in the factories generally; (2) the growth of the Party and the fluctuations of its membership; (3) the work of the Party apparatus and the struggle against bureaucracy. On the basis of an analysis of the condition of these sections of the work we shall attempt to make a few critical observations regarding the work of the C.P. of America, from the point of view of the connection between words and deeds, between decisions adopted and their execution.

* * *

One can frequently read in the Party press of the C.P. of America, in the speeches of the leading comrades, in the resolutions of the Party that "every factory is a stronghold of Communism." Hence, the Party not only appreciates the importance of this work, but takes measures to improve it. Is this so? One of the indications of an improvement of the work in the factories must be a growth in the number of factory cells. For a number of years, the Party not only has not moved forward on this question, but has even definitely regressed. Thus, in 1927, the C.P. of America had 166 factory cells; in 1928, 111; in 1930, 133; in 1931, 125 (according to other data, 75), while the number of street cells has remained relatively stable or has even increased (468 street cells in 1928 and 528 at the end of 1931).

Perhaps there has been a serious improvement lately, after the XIII. Plenum, when the work of the Party, especially in the factories, was subjected to the most scathing criticism? "The Party Organiser," the organisational journal of the Party, wrote after the Plenum (No. 8-9) that:

> "The slogan 'every factory a stronghold of Communism' characterised the political line and decisions adopted at the end of August by the Plenum of our Central Committee. The significance of this Plenum to the whole Party, and primarily to the American working class, consists of a clear recognition on the part of our C.C. of the necessity of concentrating the entire work of the Party upon the task of penetration of the key industries and biggest factories of the country."

Comrade Browder, in the report of the C.C. at the Plenum, criticising the weaknesses of the Party work, stated that:

> "If at this Plenum we do not succeed in bringing about a sharp and profound change in the direction of penetration of the shops the *whole future of our Party is in danger.*" (Italics mine.—J.T.).

And further:

> "We mean that the task of this Plenum is to begin such a serious and fundamental transformation of our whole Party life, a change of our whole approach to our work, a change in our hour-to-hour and day-to-day methods of work, a change in our organisational practice, a change so complete and so deep-going that the entire Party from top to bottom and the working class around our Party will shake with the realisation that this change is going on." ("The Communist," No. 9, 1931.)

It is hardly possible to speak more self-critically. It might have been expected that after this, a change in the work of the Party would really develop; that an extensive discussion would be held in the Party on the contents, forms and methods of work in the factories; that the Party would outline the main points upon which to concentrate its attention; that the responsible workers of the Party would go to the factories and mills to see what was doing there, to help organise the work of the factory cells. Also that the Party magazine would begin to publish information on the work in the factory; that the "Daily Worker" would give serious attention to the situation of the working masses in the different factories, the number of worker correspondents to the paper would increase; the network of factory newspapers would grow; recruiting into the Party would be shifted to the factories; a change would take place in the work of the trade unions in the sense of shifting the attention to the factories.

However, no serious practical discussion or suggestion of concrete steps has taken place in the Party. "The Party Organiser" has not published a single article after the Plenum (or before

it for that matter) dealing with some definite case of the work of this or that factory cell. Moreover, the magazine has suspended publication, apparently owing to a lack of material. Neither do we see any turn, in the direction of the factories, on the part of "The Daily Worker" either! The responsible workers of the Party continue, as before, to give the factories a wide berth, do not know what is doing there, how the cells work, or whether they exist at all.

What has been said above may be confirmed by the following characteristic fact. The report of the Party C.C. to the XIII. Plenum declared that the Party had 125 factory cells with 1,025 Party members. During the period up to the XIV Plenum another 100 factory cells were created according to the report of the C.C. to the Plenum. The total, however, amounted to only 175. What happened to the other fifty cells? Apparently they disappeared during this period. The comrades attempted to explain to the Plenum that the said fifty cells existed only on paper. Is there any guarantee that the new cells do not exist on paper as well? Have the comrades any knowledge of their real existence, have they seen these cells? Judging by the discussion at the Plenum, the leading workers of the Party do not visit the cells, have never seen them, and do not know what they are doing. Yet this is not at all such a very complicated affair. There are up to 250 members of regional committees of the Party alone, not to speak of the district committees, which together with the members of the C.C., constitutes about 300 people. Had each one of these familiarised himself with only one factory cell there would not be enough cells to go round. Had each one of the members of the Central Committee and regional committees worked in only one cell, had they been responsible for the condition of the work in one factory, had they kept the Central Committee or regional committee informed on the work of the cell and on the state of affairs in that factory, the Central Committee and the regional commitees would not only know how many real (rather than paper) cells, the Party has, but also what they are doing, what impedes their work. Yet the comrades have not thought of such a simple thing.

It was necessary to wait for the XIV Plenum, to decide this question. Whether this decision will be carried into effect, whether it will not fare as many of the previous decisions, the future will show.

If the Party leadership does not know the exact number of its cells, the situation in regard to the content of the work of the cells is no better. What the cells do in their everyday work, what questions they discuss at their meetings, the leading organs of the Party do not know, and do not discuss from a practical point of view. The minutes of the meetings of the cells, which are sent to the higher Party bodies, give some, even if incomplete, idea of the work of the cells, particularly of the cell meetings. But obviously they are not sufficiently studied by the Party centres. Otherwise we should have seen some attempt to analyse the contents of the cell meetings, some suggestions on this point. We shall, therefore, endeavour to do this. True, we have a very limited number of cell minutes at our disposal, but they are sufficient to offer an idea of what the Party cells of the C.P. of America occupy themselves with.

In the minutes of one of the cell meetings of January 21, 1932, we read:—

"B. and R. are elected to find a hall for a Lenin memorial meeting. A committee to help decorate the hall is elected.

An agitprop letter read:

Comrade R. is directed to read a recruiting article at the next meeting.

R. and B. are appointed to sell the Lenin number of the "Daily Worker."

E. resumed "Daily Worker" subscription for four months.

B. elected industrial organiser.

R. elected Negro organiser.

N. and E.L. elected delegates to an unemployed united front conference.

E.L., L.R., B. to help organise I.L.D. meeting, January 24.

Here are the minutes of the same cell of January 28, 1932:

"A C.C. communication regarding the bulletin read and discussed. Decided to issue next bulletin February 5.

Question of recruitment campaign discussed, J.I. declaring he has two connections.

Trade Union Unity League question discussed.

Report by B. on the united front policy in the work among the unemployed. He also reported on February 4 demonstration.

Report and debate on I.L.D. Case of S. and G. decided for February 2.

Work in the factories. All members connected with trade unions must work among the unemployed, help disseminate unemployment insurance petition and support demonstration February 4.

Organisation of cell discussed.

Question of factory bulletin discussed.

T. to draw up letter to C.C. in reply to letter received from D.

Question of Y.C.L. discussed.

Letter received from Secretary read and discussed."

The minutes of other cells closely resemble the above.

Three things rivet the eye when reading the minutes of the cells. Firstly, the large number of questions on the agenda. Apparently our comrades (like true Americans) strictly respect the traditional proverb, "Time is Money." We, too, believe in American efficiency, but we do not find it—in the work of the cells. There is much routine, officiousness, bureaucracy. The minutes quoted are marked, not so much by practicality as by the spirit of pure business. When ten to fifteen questions are discussed at one Party meeting no serious discussion is possible. The result is not a Party meeting, but something like the office hours of some business man. Reports of different officials are heard, orders are issued and the meeting is closed. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is no real Party life in the cells, no political discussion of the burning questions of the day. Some comrades maintain that political discussions take place only in cases of fractional struggles in the cells of the American C.P. This statement is not entirely unfounded. The minutes do not give any indication of decisions adopted on the questions discussed, of measures to carry out this or that work. The meetings have an exceedingly dry, bureaucratic character.

The second thing that strikes the eye in reading the minutes of the cell is the stereotyped manner of discussing questions: the same questions are discussed at different cells, at different times and places. This is further proof of the bureaucratic methods of the work of the cells. The cells live and work according to orders from above. They have no special local questions, they do not bother with them. The leadership of the cells is strictly centralised and cut off from actual life. For this reason the cell meetings are tedious and uninteresting.

Finally, the third peculiarity of the cell meetings consists in the extremely narrow, organisational character of the questions discussed, of the large number of petty organisation questions; there are no political questions, no questions of mass work, of the work in the factory. No concrete problems are discussed at the cell meetings, which consist almost completely of statements by different persons responsible for this or that branch of the work. Is it surprising, after all this, that recent new members in the Party quit, after a few of these meetings? They joined the Party, in the hope of taking part in the political life; instead of this, they hear dry, formal reports, are given subscription lists to collect contributions, and newspapers to be distributed—and this is all. This cannot satisfy these people, who are anxious for political activity.

How are we to explain this situation? Firstly, by the fact that the leading organs and workers of the Party give little attention to what the Party cells are doing. The cells themselves frequently do not know what to do, have no definite objective. They are accustomed to waiting for orders from above, from the centre, which is not connected with the locality and does not know the actual situation there. Besides, the view is generally held in the Party that the discussion of political affairs, the decision of different problems is the province of the higher Party bodies, while the business of the cells is to sell newspapers and organise various collections. Finally, the organisational structure of the cells and their entire work impedes their activity also. The members of the cells do not know the object of their work, they do not carry on their Party work where they are constantly employed, but in the district where they live, and devote themselves to artificially-created objects.

The Party members working in the factories do not carry on their Party work in their factory. The position of those belonging to street cells is no better. The street cells in the C.P. of America are not built according to where the members of the cell live (as would appear to be most normal and natural), but along much more complex lines. The members of a district are divided up in groups of twenty to twenty-five persons. These groups are called street cells. Each group has a definite section to tend regardless of whether the members of the group live in the particular section or not. Thus, neither the members of the factory cells nor those of the street cells are directly connected with those working masses among whom they are obliged to conduct Party work, do not know the conditions of life and work of these masses. Is there anything surprising in that they are detached from the masses under this system of work? Some comrades maintain that this system of street cells existed up to 1930, but has since been altered. Possibly, in some places, this situation has really been changed, but the position remains unaltered in most.

As far back as the beginning of 1931 the Party made a decision to concentrate the entire work in several of the most important regions, districts and factories, to establish bases there from which to move on. This was a perfectly correct decision. The measures taken on this question, however, have a fortuitous character. Obviously, the Party leadership does not check up the fulfilment of decisions adopted. One of the leading

Party workers stated that the C.C. adopts dozens of resolutions, sometimes good resolutions, but that no one knows what happens to them after their adoption. If 10 to 12 per cent. of the decisions adopted are carried into effect, it is good. Is this what is called a "sharp turn" in the entire Party work, a change in the methods of Party work? The Bolsheviks have somewhat different names for such things.

* * *

We shall take another shortcoming in the organisational work of the C.P. of America, the growth of the Party, and the struggle with fluctuation in the Party membership. The fluctuation of the Party membership constitutes one of the weakest points in the work for many years. No fewer than 10,000 to 12,000 new members join the C.P. of America every year, yet the total membership of the Party does not rise above 10,000 to 12,000. This means that every year practically the whole Party membership changes. The Party leadership knows this. Much has been said at the different Plenums on this question, many good resolutions have been adopted on the necessity of a struggle against this phenomenon. Yet, there has been no improvement to this day.

During last winter the Party ran a special recruiting campaign, designed to consolidate the political influence of the Party over the masses, along organisational lines. The campaign went off quite successfully. Between November and May about 11,000 members joined the Party. Here are some figures on the course of this campaign:

The Party membership in October-November, 1931 (the average number of dues paying members) was ...	10,542
Number of new membership cards issued in December	1,682
Number of new membership cards issued in January	1,723
Number of new membership cards issued in February	2,610
Number of new membership cards issued in March	2,661
Number of new membership cards issued in April	1,515
Number of new membership cards issued for first 14 days of May	683
In May, 1932, Party membership ought to have been	21,426

As a matter of fact, however, in May, 1932, the Party had only 13,949 members in good standing, while 7,477 people or about two-thirds of the new members disappeared, or, in other words, dropped out. This does not mean that those who dropped out were necessarily new members. In many cases old Party members quit the Party. The Party registration held in November, 1931, shows that about 60 per cent. of the entire membership joined the Party in 1930, and later, thus having less than two years' standing. This means that many old members of the Party are also quitting the Party. At the present time, as a result of the last recruiting campaign, the percentage of young Party members is unquestionably still higher.

But while the Party members are mostly young in Party standing, they are not at all young in age. Thus, according to the registration, it appears that members of the age of 30-40 predominate (40 per cent.), while those over the age of 40 constitute 35 per cent. of the membership. A similar proportion of age prevails among those admitted during the last enrolment campaign, the average age of the comrades in the different districts being 35-38 years. We see that the Party is connected with adult workers, with full-fledged workers. That workers with much experience join the Party is a welcome sign, of course, but it is bad that there are few young people in the Party, that the Party is poorly connected with the young workers, does not pay attention to attracting the young workers into the Party, that there are very few comrades in the Party of army age, which interferes with the work in the army, especially in connection with the war preparations, which, especially considering the weakness of the Y.C.L., is of great importance.

How are the new members of the Party divided by social composition, by industries? About 8,000 of the new members enrolled during the official enrolment campaign (from January 11 to March 18, 1932) belong to the following industries:—

Metal workers	691
Miners	800
Railroad men	106
Steel workers	122
Textile workers	63
Seamen and transport workers ...	178
Needle trades workers	361
Building workers	614

and a number of smaller groups belonging to other trades.

But the above figures do not at all mean that these comrades work at present in the said industries, for the majority of them used to be employed in these industries, and are now unemployed. About three-quarters of the new members are unemployed, only one-quarter are employed workers, while among the old membership (according to the registration held in November, 1931), slightly less than half (about

43 per cent.) are fully employed. We thus see, that, as a result of the last enrolment campaign, the percentage of unemployed Party members has considerably increased. The same applies to those employed in factories and belonging to factory cells. While the absolute number of these members has increased in consequence of the enrolment campaign, relatively it has decreased. Thus, while 77 of the factory cells had 539 members at the time of the registration —90 of the newly-organised cells had only 553 members, many of these being old Party members who had not previously belonged to the factory cells. The existing factory cells were the least effective in the enrolment campaign. They succeeded in enrolling only 141 new members out of the total of 8,000. Such are the real results of the enrolment campaign for which the Party had so carefully prepared.

What were the objects of the Party during this enrolment campaign? They were to strengthen the connections with the working masses, to penetrate the factories, especially the big ones.

Here is what the enrolment instructions stated on this question:

> "The Central Committee has passed a decision to hold an enrolment campaign to bring into the Party thousands of new members from the big mills, mines and factories, active workers from among the unemployed and unions. The recent events have finally confirmed the growing radicalisation of the masses. Our task now consists of raising this radicalisation to the level of political consciousness and attracting into our Party the best elements.
>
> "This campaign must not be detached from the current campaigns of the Party; we must organisationally consolidate the results of the actions carried out by the Party in order to strengthen the current campaigns and convert the enrolment into a systematic everyday work of our Party."

And what were the results of the enrolment? They far from corresponded to the objects undertaken. The Party undertook to strengthen its connections with the factories, yet as a result of the recruitment we have an increase of the percentage of unemployed in the Party. The Party made it its task to raise the activity of the Party members in the factories, but we have only 141 members recruited by the factory cells as a result. The Party aimed at putting an end to the fluctuation in membership, but as a result we have 7,000 members dropping out in half a year. What is the cause of these unsatisfactory results of this work? The cause lies in the poor conduct of the campaign, despite the good intentions.

It is hardly possible to invent more bureaucratic methods of conducting a political campaign than those used in this enrolment campaign. The mere instructions to the Party organisations had to be printed in *four issues* of the "Daily Worker." They contained eighty-nine different paragraphs and points, with a large number of sub-points, introductions and conclusions. The instructions even fixed with precision just which districts are to compete with each other, and other details.

But the trouble was not so much in the organisational campaign as in the way it was carried out. There was no leadership provided during the campaign. The most fundamental defect was that the campaign had too narrow an organisational, inner-party character. Despite the fact that the newspaper devoted full columns to the enrolment campaign for fully three months, from day to day, there was not a single article in it addressed to the non-party working masses, explaining the tasks and policies of the Party, or why the workers ought to join the Party. There was not a single political slogan in the newspaper devoted to the enrolment work during the campaign. Only once, more of less by accident, in the middle of the campaign, a short appeal to the non-party people was published, occupying a few lines. It cannot be said that this is the way to strengthen the connection of the Party with the masses. Is this the way in which a mass political campaign of serious political importance to the Party ought to be conducted?

Although the instructions stated that the campaign should be linked up with the class struggle of the proletariat, the Party leadership, and the central organ of the Party, themselves forgot this. Nevertheless, despite all these defects, despite the lack of all political work, masses join the Party, are attracted by the correct slogans of the Party and Comintern. They are seeking a way way out of their hardships and this way is pointed out by the Communist Party alone. This shows what favourable conditions exist for the work. It is only necessary to utilise them. Unfortunately, the Party is far from capable of utilising them. Another serious defect of the Party enrolment was the absence of any work among the newly-admitted members, the failure to take measures to attach them to the Party. The enrolment took place as a rule at meetings and the new members of the Party were not dealt with individually. It is not to be surprised at, that many of the new members soon left the Party; as a matter of fact, they never actually belonged to the Party, for the formal issuance of a Party card cannot be regarded as a sufficient

sign of attachment of the new member to the Party.

There is very much of the show element, aimed at producing an external effect, in the enrolment work, as well as in the other fields of the Party work, a hunt for quantity at the expense of quality. It is of importance to show as large a number of new recruits as possible, and what happens to them afterwards is of little interest. And when the campaign came to an end the Party took up other campaigns, having no time even to sum up the results of this campaign, to estimate it, to draw lessons for the future. To this day no analysis, no appraisal of the results of the campaign has been made by the Party leadership, nor has this been done at the XIV. Plenum. What does this show? It shows an underestimation of the control of execution, as a method of improving the work. Was the campaign carried out in accordance with the instructions, in accordance with the decision adopted by the XIII. Plenum? No. Has the Party consolidated its connections with the masses, especially in the most important, decisive industries as a result of the campaign? To some extent, but far from sufficiently.

Not only this campaign, but the entire recruiting work of the C.P. of America (as well as of many other parties) suffers from a number of permanent defects. The entire work is carried on either automatically or by way of campaigns. There is no constant attention to this work on the part of the Party organisations, on the part of each individual Party member. There is no systematic attention to it on the part of the Party. Hence the accidental character of the new members and the fluctuation. The very method of recording the Party membership by the number of cards issued, or stamp sold, is incorrect. It is necessary to pass from recording the Party cards, or the stamps sold, to recording and studying the Party members themselves, the living people. Neither is it right to consider a man who has submitted an application for membership a Party member. He must still be made a Party member, educated as a Party member. In the C.P.S.U. every more or less old member of the Party is able to name more than one Party member whom he brought into the Party, educated for Party membership. The comrades of the Communist Parties abroad do not even understand the question, when they are asked, how many members they have educated for the Party?

These incorrect methods of enrolment, the failure to control execution, to provide leadership, and rectify mistakes, as well as the unsatisfactory work of the cells, with their lack of connections with the masses, essentially explain the great fluctuation in the Party, which the Party has so far proved helpless to combat.

* * *

While speaking of the work in the factories and growth of the Party, we have already pointed out a number of bureaucratic methods of the Party work. In doing this we have already partly covered the third topic of our analysis, so that there is little left to say. The leadership of the American C.P. very resolutely condemned the existence of bureaucracy in the Party by way of self-criticism. Here is what Comrade Browder said in the report of the C.C. to the XIII. Plenum on this question:

"It means that the inner life of our Party does not correspond to the needs and desires of the workers who are closest to us, who follow us, who believe firmly in the line of our Party, who are convinced loyal supporters of the Communist International, who are ready to make any sacrifices for the revolution. They don't find what they want when they join our Party. Why is that? Comrades, I think that we have to say that this is because of this tendency towards bureaucracy, towards formalism, which, as Comrade Kusinen developed at length in the American Commission last year, is a characteristic American social disease. It penetrates into our Party. Its specific nature is bureaucratic tendencies. Everywhere these bureaucratic tendencies arise. We must make it very clear that these are alien tendencies that find their origin in the ideology of the bourgeoisie and especially of the petty bourgeoisie."

"We find a great readiness in our Party apparatus to charge workers in the shop with opportunism, but we find a great reluctance, comrades, to spending a few evenings with workers in the shop concretely discussing what are the problems of this shop and *how* we can work in this shop. Too often, when we do have the direct contact between our leading apparatus and these workers it takes on a formal character—the transmission of instructions that have already been worked out in the 'secret chambers' of the committee and no discussion about the concrete problems of that shop." ("The Communist," No. 9, 1931.)

We have already pointed out that one of the causes of bureaucracy in the Party is the excessive centralisation of the work, the excessive centralisation of leadership. Lenin repeatedly emphasised that centralisation of leadership must be combined with extensive decentralisation of responsibility for the different branches of the work. Lenin also repeatedly pointed out the necessity not only of teaching the locals, the lower

workers, but also of learning from them, learning from the masses, listening to their voice, to their sentiments This is not done in the C.P. of America.

We know that one of the forms and sources of bureaucracy, is the leadership by circulars instead of leadership in person. Such leadership by circular has been developed to the highest degree in the C.P. of America. Every Party committee, every department of the committee, considers it its duty to write circulars and instructions to the lower organisations, by which the entire life of the latter is regulated to the minutest detail. No place or time is left for the special, local questions, for the display of initiative. One is well satisfied if one has time to read all the circulars received from above; no time is left for their fulfilment. This incidentally bureaucratises the meetings of the cell. Much of the time of the meeting is devoted to reading different circulars. Here is a sample taken from the minutes of a certain cell and showing what its meeting is devoted to:

"Following communications read:

"1. To all cells from the C.C. Decision to alter the system of membership dues in regard to unemployed comrades.

"2. In support of the Kentucky strike.

"3. From the C.C. in connection with the expulsion of Party members and exposals of non-Party elements in the Party press.

"4. The "Daily Worker" and the enrolment campaign.

"5. Competition with Salt Lake City in the recruitment campaign."

This system of bureaucratic leadership develops a sense of irresponsibility and helplessness among the local workers. The comrades become accustomed to waiting for instructions from above on all questions, avoid undertaking anything themselves, fear making mistakes.

The method of leadership by circulars, is in itself a result of another abnormality, creating bureaucracy in the work. We refer to the extreme inflation of the Party machinery, to the excessive number of full-time Party officials. Instead of attracting comrades to the work of the Party apparatus from the factories, who are directly connected with the masses, particularly members of the given committee, so that the committee might know what is taking place locally, every more or less active and efficient comrade from the factory is immediately removed from it, is made a permanent Party official, is broken away from the masses.

Does the Party leadership know and understand the causes of its bureaucracy? It certainly does. But the Party still adheres to the following "system": So long as a resolution is not finally adopted it is discussed, edited, improved, etc., but as soon as it is adopted, it is ignored as if it possesses the magic power of itself being carried into life. What results is a sort of fetishism of resolutions. At best it is sent to a certain number of persons or organisations for information—and this is all. Yet, what is a resolution or decision? It is a plan, a system of various measures, which must be carried into effect, on which it is necessary to work. The work actually only begins with the approval of this plan, but in the C.P. of America, it ends there. This is abnormal and must be altered. The systematic control of the fulfilment of resolutions adopted should assist this. Without a combination of broad self-criticism, with the control of execution of decisions, we will not get rid of the bureaucracy which prevents the Party from getting into closer touch with the masses, which breaks the Party away from the masses.

In conclusion, we wish to quote the following statement of Comrade Browder to the XIII. Plenum:

> "We have been writing and talking about shop work for a long time, but it remains in our Plenums and resolutions and our documents, and the word is not transformed into the deed.
>
> "I think that we ought to begin to develop another real campaign in our Party, beginning with the Central Committee, a real struggle against phrase-mongering. Every time somebody tries to formulate a task for us, let us give him the job of beginning. And we must begin to insist more, comrades, that our resolutions shall not remain on paper. especially the resolutions about shop work. A resolution that remains on paper becomes an obstacle to the development of the work." ("The Communist," No. 9, 1931.)

This is said very well. It is only a pity that the XIV. Plenum did not analyse which of the decisions of the XIII. Plenum had been carried into effect, which had not been, and why, with sufficient concreteness. Let us hope that this will be done at the XV. Plenum. We can issue only one warning: Unless the Party takes up control of the execution of its own decisions with as much determination as it has engaged in self-criticism, it will not move one step forward in the direction of an improvement of its work, for as Comrade Browder correctly noted, "a resolution remaining on paper is an obstacle to the development of the work." And there are still far too many such paper resolutions in the Party.

SOCIAL-FASCISM IN JAPAN*

(Continued)

By AKI

At the congress of Rono-Taishu-to, held on December 5, a delegate from the Tokyo Prefecture asked: "Why did the Chairman of the anti-war committee Oyama resign?" One of the leaders explained: "Owing to severe illness." Yet it is known from the newspapers that this same "severely ill" Oyama has gone "to study America," while the instructions which were to be discussed at the congress were removed from the agenda by request of the police.

After repeated inquiries from the local organisations the Central Committee replied:

> "Concrete measures of struggle against the Manchurian occupation are indicated in the theses, but in developing such a serious struggle it is necessary to work out the tactics very carefully on the basis of the experience of the struggle of the Party."

Now the very leaders of this Party themselves are compelled to testify to the sabotage of the struggle against the war. One of the leaders of Rono Taishu-to, Soudzouke Etsydzuro, stated on May 14th at a conference of the Osaka district organisation Drzentro (T.U. Federation):

> "Despite the resolution adopted on the struggle against imperialist war at the Plenum of the C.C., in practice our Party has done nothing worth mentioning."

At the moment a split has occurred in the ranks of Rono Taishu-to. One group of leaders had joined the "State Socialists" (Fascists). This split was due not to differences on the question of the war, as is clearly shown by the full readiness of the remaining leaders of the Rono Taishu-to to merge with Shakai Minshu-to. They are now specialising more and more upon fabricating war provocations against the U.S.S.R. This is demonstrated not only by the anti-Soviet provocation to the effect that the Soviet Union engages in dumping, thus aggravating the world crisis, and increasing armaments, is threatening to seize Manchuria, this "source of Socialism" of the Japanese nation, they are also conducting a slanderous agitation on all the questions of the Socialist construction.

Thus, Akamatsu, writing in the December issue of "Kaidzo," state:

> "The Soviet Union engages in dumping wheat and sugar to find the means for the Five-Year Plan; disorganises the world agricultural market and intensifies the agrarian crisis. These losses are borne by the peasant masses; it is precisely the peasants who suffer. From the point of view of the Soviets the security of their national economy comes first of all.
>
> "The emancipation of the world proletariat is a secondary matter to them. The Soviet theory of the building of Socialism in one country can be understood only if you adopt the position of National Socialism. Such a thing as the Soviet Five-Year Plan represents a complete plan of the construction of State Socialism. Thus, what is known as the Soviet Union is in reality nothing but a great-power Russian State. The so-called free consent and equality, the unification of Ukraine, White Russia, Uzbekistan and the other Republics, is in reality nothing but an absolute political and economic subordination of the other republics to the oppression of the powerful Russian people."

Here they are killing two birds with one stone. Firstly, all the achievements of Socialist construction (which are tremendously popular among the Japanese toilers), are ascribed by them to their capitalist system (which therefore should not be overthrown at home, in Japan), and on the other hand, and this is the main point, they discredit the Soviet Union in the eyes of the Japanese masses and prepare the ground for an armed intervention in the U.S.S.R.

At the Congress of Shakai Minshu-to this year a similar statement was repeated:

> "The fishing rights in the Northern Waters were secured in the Russo-Japanese war at the price of blood, the same as the interests and rights now being secured in Manchuria and Mongolia. Russia, on the basis of the Five-Year Plan, created a State fishing industry in the Northern Waters, thereby threatening the lives of the workers of the Northern and Hokkaido provinces of our country. On the question of the rouble and the activity of the Cho-sen Bank, Russia is interfering with the development of Japanese industry. The fisheries must be nationalised in order to compete with the State fisheries of Russia under Government control. By the development of the nationalised fishing industry we must save the fishermen in the Northern Waters."

*See article in "C.I.," No. 13.

The "left" Social-Democrats are actually in solidarity with the rights, but they carefully conceal the anti-Soviet essence of the Manchurian occupation, and the feverish preparation of war against the U.S.S.R. They cannot openly proclaim their real desire for an anti-Soviet war, of course. This would mark their complete bankruptcy. But they interfere with the struggle for the protection of the U.S.S.R. by all means. They betray even their own members, who take a stand against the imperialist war, to the police.

To-day they unquestionably support the Saito Government—the Government of mobilisation of all "national forces" for the preparation of imperialist war, and above all, anti-Soviet war.

The entire tactics of the Social-Democrats in the war question consists in diverting the masses from the struggle for a revolutionary solution of the crisis and war, the struggle led by the Communist Party of Japan, and strengthening the rule of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy.

II.—THE MILITARY POLICE MONARCHY AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

The growing discontent of the great masses of the Japanese people, who are choking in the grip of a barbarous exploitation and oppression, which has been strengthened many times as a result of the crisis and war, led to a marked sharpening of the class struggle.

The bourgeois-landlord dictatorship is beginning to feel every day more and more acutely the ground shaking beneath its feet. The bourgeois-landlord monarchical régime is seeking a way out in the further strengthening of the reaction and enslavement of the toiling masses, in the feverish prosecution of the aggressive imperialist foreign policy. To this end the monarchy mobilises every possible force at its disposal. It is precisely in this field that Social-Democracy, of all shades, constitutes a serious weapon of the Japanese monarchical régime, and of the ruling bloc of capitalists and landlords.

All the social-fascists of Japan carefully and decisively cover up, not only the entire barbarity of the monarchical régime and the complete disfranchisement of the Japanese people, but even the very existence of an absolute monarchy in Japan.

The rôle of the "state socialists" is perfectly clear. Opposing parliamentarism and the dictatorship of finance capital to-day, they want to bolster up the tottering monarchy. By claiming that a parliamentary system exists in Japan they cover up the essence of the absolute monarchy, and at the same time they attempt to utilise the growing discontent of the masses for the further consolidation of absolutism. Appearing under the mask of protectors of the people's interests, they promote the interests of the militarist, the most reactionary, wing of the monarchy. It is not surprising therefore that the fascist committee "Kokumin Nihon-to" presented a petition to Saendsi supporting the basic demand of the militarists, and pointing out that "the unprecedented crisis experienced by Japan requires the creation of the strongest national Government."

The right as well as the "left" Social-Democratic parties (Shakai Minshu-to and Rono Taishu-to) claim to be the only supporters of parliamentarism and democracy which, they maintain, still exist in Japan, and threaten the people with the bogey of fascism, counterposing fascism to the Japanese monarchist régime, which in fact is certainly a no less oppressive form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landlords over the toilers than the fascist régime in Italy.

The double game of Shakai Minshu-to is interesting.

At its congress in January of this year the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party Shakai Minshu-to, Abe, declared:

"We are honest supporters of the monarchy."

One of the delegates to the congress made the following statement:

"By the organisation of committees alone it is impossible to combat the calamities in the villages. As Mr. Abe says, it is necessary to establish a harmonious régime of the monarch and of the people around the imperial family, preserving the respect to them, paying them honours and thereby seeking to strengthen the connection between the royal family and the people."

" . . . Our enemies are the capitalists and landlords but not the monarchy."

Here is strikingly manifested their dog-like devotion to the military-police monarchy, which they attempt to represent to the workers and peasants as their defender against the arbitrary rule of the landlords and bourgeoisie.

The Social-Democrats are also conducting an agitation to the effect that the existing parliamentarism and democracy are threatened by fascism and communism. They have now issued the slogan: "Against capitalism, against communism, against fascism." The basic object of this slogan is to create an atmosphere for the ruthless suppression of the revolutionary movement (communism). *Their second* aim consists in hiding and safeguarding the existing dictatorship of the military-police monarchy by all means, representing the monarchical system as a democracy, emphasising the democratic appearance

and hiding the reactionary character of the monarchy from the masses by means of deceit, so as to direct the mass movement to the defence of the existing absolutist monarchy. This servile defence and base assurance of loyalty to the existing monarchical power found a full expression in the resolution of the Central Committee of Shakai Minshu-to of January 18th, 1932, stating:

"1. To bring out the spirit of respect for the Japanese State even more clearly.

"2. To bring out the position of the Party towards the State, which consists of the denial of the Marxian viewpoint of the exploiting class, and of the recognition of the State as a pure machinery of control in the democratisation of the controlling functions of the State, even more clearly."

But to complete this double game and confuse the mass, Shakai Minshu-to is now issuing the slogan, "Return of the most important branches of industry to the Emperor," and demagogically using the hatred of the people for monopoly capital to strengthen the monarchy, acting as a conductor of the policy of that capital. The essence of this slogan is clear when we read the following statement of the Social-Democratic journal, "Rodo-kearzan":

"The return of the most important branches of industry to the Emperor has no exploitation in view, but pre-supposes the voluntary wishes of the capitalists and does not reject private property. At the present moment the situation of the country is extremely serious. The Party of the propertyless must make an end of its state and gather powerful fighting forces under the slogan of 'For the return of the most important branches of industry to the Emperor and decisive realisation of socialism.'"

This statement fully reveals the essence of Social-Democracy as an open advocate of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy and of the entire régime of national disfranchisement and police rule.

We shall now consider the "left" Social-Democracy. The Rono Taishu-to is a party which creates obstacles before the revolutionary workers on the road to the camp of communism, and defends the monarchy by various methods of duping the masses.

The official leaders of Rono Taishu-to apply the Shakai Minshu-to policy expressed in the traditional slogan ("Against capitalism, against communism and against fascism") and thereby create the necessary conditions for an open alliance with Shakai Minshu-to. The first cry of these leaders after the split of Shakai Minshu-to, in favour of merging with it, shows that the apparent distinction (that is the use of radical words) is being rapidly erased in the face of the only real enemy, the Japanese Communist Party, and the revolutionary movement as a whole. Thus they now adhere to the position of open defence of the existing military-police monarchy.

At the same time the intricate mechanism of the class war, and the extreme discontent of the advanced membership masses of this party, expressed in the organisational and ideological departure from it and direct affiliation not only of individual members but of complete organisations to the communist camp (the organisation of the Nagano Prefecture), forces it to resort to left manoeuvres.

The theory of the proletarian revolution, carried out without the overthrow of the autocracy, promulgated by the theoreticians of Rono-to in the past for the purpose of masking the existing monarchical power, has now (after the merging of Rono-to and Taishu-to) been practically discarded by them. Instead of this they now apply another weapon, speculation on the fascist movement, which they represent as a greater evil compared with the existing monarchical régime, which is concealed behind pseudo-parliamentary institutions. This method is less risky and more effective than the theory of the "proletarian dictatorship." In the first place this method covers up the real enemy at the given stage of the revolution, the bourgeois-landlord monarchy. Especially as the leaders and theoreticians of Rono Taishu-to deliberately reduce the struggle against fascism, for instance, to "the overthrow of the Unikai Cabinet" (from the appeal of Rono Taishu-to).

The aim of all these slogans, coupled with the other slogans and practices of these parties, consists in the defence of the military-police monarchy, of disguising the growing monstrous enslavement and brutal repressions of the working class and toiling peasantry, particularly of the revolutionary workers and peasants.

The essence of these manoeuvres of Rono Taishu-to will become clear after its police service is revealed. The fact that the leaders of this party have themselves betrayed every militant worker of the iron bridge works, and of the old Sumitomo foundry, and other factories, as well as all the left-wing delegates of the Congress of the Peasant Union and the Union of Tokyo tramwaymen, into the hands of the police, the wholesale expulsion of the revolutionary elements from their ranks and the subsequent presentation of the list of the expelled to the police, reveal the utterly base character of these police informers, the "left" social-police and social-monarchists.

The professional agents-provocateurs and stool-pigeons from the "Labour Group of the C.P. of Japan" do not deserve special attention, as they have already been sufficiently exposed by our party.

In the past the Social-Democrats issued the demagogic slogan, "Down with the Government of Innukai." At the moment, when a still more reactionary Government is at the helm, they do not issue it. This shows the masses still more clearly the reactionary monarchist essence of Japanese Social-Democracy.

II.

The great mass of toilers in the cities and villages of Japan are being increasingly involved in the revolutionary movement, which also affects the soldiers and sailors. Under the conditions of the deepening crisis, and increase of the revolutionary danger, internal strife sharpens in the camp of the ruling bloc, which despite all its tricks and demagogy, is incapable of improving the condition of the toilers in any way and rapidly discredit ing itself in the masses' eyes. The prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis are rapidly maturing. The war has not merely not interrupted this process, but has even strengthened it further. Under these conditions the tasks of the Japanese Communists become incomparably broader, and more complex, than in the past, and the struggle against the Social-Fascists and Fascists must accordingly be considerably strengthened. To-day, the Japanese Social-Fascists and Fascists only constitute auxiliary detachments of the military-police monarchy, but to-morrow, when the proletariat and peasantry arise against the hated powers that be, they (the Social-Fascists and Fascists) will develop into the vanguard of the counter-revolution to save capitalism from destruction. To-day they appear in favour of a monarchy, but this does not at all mean that they will not resort, under changed conditions, to various other manœuvres. Thus do the right and "left" Social-Fascists, for instance, who only yesterday were quarrelling like irreconcilable enemies, yet to-day, in face of the necessity of uniting their forces against the revolutionary proletariat, they have found a common language.

Their unity programme states that "our Party fights in the defence of the life of the workers, peasants and all toilers, our Party seeks to overthrow capitalism and establish Socialism." What this "Socialist" programme looks like in reality is clear from the entire practice of Social-Fascism in Japan, but the essence here consists in that this new document strikingly reflects "left" phraseology. Therefore, the immediate task of the Japanese Communists in the struggle against the Social-Fascists and Fascists, consists in tracing the policies and tactics of these traitors and concretely exposing them.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE, THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

The gravest economic crisis experienced by Japanese imperialism, the very sharp capitalist offensive upon the working class (a 30-40 per cent. wage cut before the introduction of the gold embargo at the end of last year, three million unemployed) have caused a tremendous increase of the number of conflicts and strikes and an extreme aggravation of the class struggle. The policy of inflation (the first step of which was the restoration of the gold embargo) caused a further general reduction of the real wages of the Japanese working class by 30-35 per cent. Incredible destitution and starvation prevails among the Japanese workers, who were living, as it is, under conditions of colonial pariahs, under the yoke of the dual imperialist and semi-feudal slavery.

The robber war and the monstrous repressions further intensified the class struggle, and accelerated the conversion of the economic struggle into a political one, causing a wave of political strikes against the military-police régime and the war. (Bloody clashes between strikers and police have become a common occurrence during nearly every strike; strikes demanding full pay to all mobilised men for the whole period of the war, and guarantee of their jobs, rapidly spread, especially among the tramwaymen.)

This tendency of the strike struggle became so dangerous to the ruling classes, that the Minister of the Interior and the War Minister found it necessary to issue demagogic declarations.

The declaration of the War Ministry appeared in all Japanese newspapers on March 9, 1932, Its text is as follows:—

> "Expressing appreciation of the fact that the entire country displays the deepest sympathy and support for the mobilised and their families (?!) it is necessary to point out, that, despite this, conflicts have recently taken place in one or two companies in connection with the dismissal of the mobilised. The law regarding the retention of positions for mobilised men indicates the basic course of the prevention of unemployment among service men and determines the minimum of the necessary demands. Therefore, during these events (the war) we want the employers to treat the mobilised as well as possible on the basis of the essence of this law. Of course, an order of the company management does not violate this law. But it is very regrettable that the company manage-

ment treats the mobilised in accordance with the letter of the law, thus obstructing the collaboration and peaceful relations between labour and capital. Furthermore, we fear that the utilisation of the present events (the war) for disputes will lead to the violation of the national unity. (Literal translation.—A.)

"The provocation in connection, during the present events (the war) of conflicts between capital and labour, whoever may be right, is repudiated by us in any case."

In this tense state of affairs, the tasks of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade-union bureaucracy consist in justifying all the measures of the ruling bloc, and the Government connected with the frantic offensive upon the working class. This is to prevent any militant actions, including economic struggles, and unite all their forces against the struggling workers ,the revolutionary trade-union movement and the Communist Party of Japan, in the name of a "Socialist" (though in reality imperialist, bourgeois-landlord, military-police) Japan.

Before making a more detailed analysis of the tactics of the Japanese Social-Democracy as a whole, and of its individual groupings, in this field, we shall attempt to characterise the organisations which serve as vehicles of the treacherous tactics of the Social-Democracy.

Japanese Social-Democracy draws its main support from the trade union organisations. Each Social-Democratic Party has its distinct group of trade unions, one Social-Democratic Party has several independent trade union centres, which profess in some cases to have "differences of principles" with each other. This may be observed particularly in the Rono Taisuto, the organisation of the "left" Social-Democracy.

Here are the actual data on the trade union organisations supporting the different Social-Democratic groupings:—

The State Socialists are supported by

1. Sorengo (16,700 members).
2. A section which has split away from Sodomei.
3. A section of Dsenkoku Domei (membership unknown).

The Sakai Minshuto is supported by:

1. Sodomei (39,357 members); after the secession of the followers of the State Socialists the membership of Sodomei decreased by one-third.
2. The Seamen's Union (88,172).
3. The Naval Arsenal Workers' League (4,300).
4. The Naval Transport Officers' Association (11,124).
5. The Dockers' Union (12,600).
6. The Union of Workers of State Enterprises Konggio-Rodo (14,042).
7. The Foundry Men's League (7,000).
8. The Port Workers' League (7,000).

The Rono Taishuto is supported by:

1. Dsenkoku Domei (41,690).
2. Kopu-Soromei (Municipal Transport Workers' Trade Union League, 30,000 members).
3. Sohiogikai (11,000).
4. Dsun-Kodsiokai (6,000).
5. The Tokyo Gas Workers' Union (3,400).

(The leaders of these unions form the Kanto-Toitsu-Koogikai.)

The "Workers' " Group, "The C.P. of Japan" is supported by:

1. Toitsu-Kiogikai (membership small).

These data clearly show that first the so-called State Socialists (the Fascists) are attempting to secure strongholds among the trade union workers. Second, that the right Social-Democracy has strong trade union organisations embracing the workers of the heavy industry, the State enterprises and the marine transport. Third, among the trade unions supporting the "left" Social-Democracy one centre is affiliated to Rodo Kurabu (essentially a section of the Amsterdam International in Japan) while the other belongs to the League of Struggle against Rodo Kurabu, which pretends to be conducting a struggle, on principle, against it.

It is necessary to remember one more factor, namely, that all these parties consider practically all the members of the trade unions supporting them as their members. As a matter of fact, however, only the central leadership and the trade union leaders are actual members of the Social-Democratic Parties.

This system enables the Social-Fascists, and the trade union bureaucrats, to act very flexibly in the trade union movement, while in the questions of the economic struggle they are forced to display a maximum of manœuvring ability, inasmuch as tens of thousands of advanced workers participate in the movement. The preservation of the division and disunion existing in the trade to prevent the workers uniting in the struggle, union movement enables the Social-Fascists (1) (2) to resort to various manœuvres for each section of the workers; for instance, to conduct "left" manœuvres among the more revolutionary workers, staging at times a "struggle" against the other trade union organisations which support the same Social-Democratic party. And, finally (3) to preserve for the leaders of the given organisation a definite jumping-off ground,

definite positions, which enable them to bargain with, and secure considerable concessions from the employers for themselves. At the same time, the consolidation of the trade union bureaucrats, and the insufficient exposure of them by the Communist Party and revolutionary trade union movement, enables them to cheat the workers, misrepresenting themselves as supporters of the united front of the working class. We shall now familiarise ourselves with the estimation of the economic crisis by the Social-Democracy, and its attitude to the measures of the Government and capitalists, and against the working class.

The Social-Democrats are no longer capable of hiding the grave economic crisis. But they blur over the tendencies and prospects of the crisis in different ways, underestimating its results and effect upon the working class. They do everything possible to mislead the workers, to get them to support the measures of the capitalists and Government, which ultimately aim at shifting the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the working class, and help the capitalists profit by the crisis. All of these measures are misrepresented by the Social-Democrats as the "building of Socialism" in Japan. This is precisely how they presented the question of the robber war in Manchuria and the counter-revolutionary provocations against the U.S.S.R. This is also the way they treat the question of a capitalist solution of the crisis.

The restoration of the gold embargo, which signifies a general reduction of real wages, unquestionably caused a further sharpening of the class struggle. Anticipating this, the Social-Democratic organ, "Rodo Keidsai" (Labour and Economy) of December, 1931, wrote:

" . . . The vital problem of to-day consists in organising systematic State planning of production, thus saving our industry from the arbitrary economic rule of the capitalists. This means not only a mere restoration of the embargo . . . It is inevitable, of course, for the introduction of planned economy . . . What does State planning concretely mean? Firstly, State control over foreign trade; secondly, State administration of finances; thirdly, nationalisation and State administration of the most important industries.

"In the present economic situation the establishment of State control over foreign trade is of capital importance.

" . . . *We do not object to a temporary reduction of wages. If this is necessary, for the establishment of control over foreign trade, for the State administration of finances and for the nationalisation and State administration of the most important industries, we will gladly agree to wage reductions. The introduction of these reforms in industry is extremely essential, for industry is in a blind alley, and the working class is resolved to sacrifice its interests to stimulate the national economy.*

". . . A restoration of the gold embargo—regardless of whether we agree with it or not—must sooner or later be effected . . . If this is so . . . all that remains for us to say is: *do it as quickly as possible.*"

Misrepresenting the consolidation of monopolistic capitalism as the building of Socialism and justifying all the robber measures of the capitalists and Government, aimed against the working class and the toiling masses under this pretext, the Fascists and the right wing Social-Democrats, who thus display an unconditional readiness to continue the policy of defending a reactionary solution of the crisis, are prepared to strangle every manifestation of discontent on the part of the workers, who are thereby doomed to starvation. On this question there is absolutely no difference, not only in action, but also in words, between the so-called "State Socialists" and the right Social-Democrats.

Matsuoka, the General Secretary of Sodomei, declared at the trade union congress:

" . . . The main thing is to display a spirit of mutual help. The backwardness of the labour movement of our country compared with Europe is due to the absence of this spirit. You must give much attention to this aspect. We do not consider the workers' enthusiasm caused by a demonstration during a strike, for instance, as organised or consolidated. A strike should be declared as a last resort; and *disputes should be settled mainly by peaceful means.*" (Italics ours.—A.).

One of the leaders of the Seamen's Union, Horiuchi, in connection with the growing discontent of the seamen with the general wage reduction of 7 per cent., declared:

"Japanese marine transport is in a still worse state than it was last February. The shipowners found themselves in a desperate plight, as a result of the interest collected by the capitalists to finance them and the payment of marine insurance. If we attempt to secure a restoration of the old wage level by force and declare a strike, the shipowners will suspend the service, something which they are only waiting for. . . Demands which do not take the situation existing in the marine transport into account are against our own interests in the long run "

Here we see the true face of the trade union bureaucracy and Social-Democracy, who have

completely linked up their fate not only with the destinies of capitalism in general, but also with the destiny of each individual employer, who bribes them by various subsidies and gifts. The shipowners carry out this policy through the boatswains, engineers and ships fitters, by the aid of the police. Here are some examples. Correspondence published in the organ of the Seamen's Union relates that:

"On behalf of the steamer 'Yamato Maru,' speeches were made at the meeting, by the captain of the steamer, the chief engineer, and the wireless operator, who dwelt upon the following subjects: The first upon the further collaboration within the steamer, the second, upon further peaceful action, the third upon the life of a conscious seaman. The members of the committee spoke on the following subjects: For strengthening peaceful collaboration with the officers; for unconditional performance of the work without violation of order; for peaceful co-operation."

Further correspondence relates that the senior fireman and senior cook made speeches on the following subjects: The first, "Drink and immorality—an awful scourge of the seaman"; the second, "The restoration of the gold embargo and the economic situation." Practically the whole of the correspondence expresses gratefulness to the captains and chief engineers for the treats given by them, and reports their election to the leading bodies of the seamen's ship organisations. This is how the reformists carry out their treacherous policy among the masses!

Under these conditions, especially when the social-imperialists, and the reformist trade union bureaucrats, openly call upon the workers to support the war, and urge them to redouble their efforts in war work, it is not surprising that the most reactionary monarchical Government, and the capitalists, entrust them with the most important war industries, the armament works and the marine transport.

Let us consider the trade union policy of the "left" Social-Democracy.

The "left" Social-Democrats and trade union bureaucrats pay lip service to the deep crisis, and recognise, in some measure, its effect upon the situation of the working class. What else can they do? Their task consists precisely in keeping the revolutionary striking masses from going over to the Communist Party. Their rôle is to be on the scene wherever the strike struggle assumes a particularly acute and bitter character, where they can act as "lefts" in words and as the meanest traitors in fact. Their most despicable manœuvre in the trade union movement is strikingly reflected by the existence of two trade union centres in the ranks of Rono Taishuto, one of which is affiliated to Rodo Kurabu, and the other which professes to fight against it, on the grounds that it is a section of the Amsterdam International, and opposes Communism.

This dexterous manœuvre is due primarily to the fact that the membership masses of the Rono Taishuto (the "left" Social-Democracy) are mainly opposed to the open treachery of the leaders of the "left" Social-Democracy, and are already joining the revolutionary trade union movement and the Communist Party in large numbers. The open support of Rodo Kurabu by the leaders of Dsenkoku Domei (the right trade union centre among those supporting Rono Taishuto) aroused a storm of indignation among the membership of Dsenkoku, who instinctively sensed the treacherous essence of Rodo Kurabu, in view of the experience of the constant strike-breaking activity of the trade-union bureaucrats who have welded themselves around Rodo Kurabu (including their leaders). Unions embracing about 70 per cent. of the members of this trade union federation openly opposed affiliation to Rodo Kurabu. The influence of the revolutionary opposition within this trade union federation grew daily. It was here that the "left" reformists (the "left" group Dsenkoku Domei, Hiogikai, Kotsu-Soremei, etc.) came to their aid. They issued the demagoogic slogan: "Against Rodo Kurabu" to retain the revolutionised members within the ranks of Social-Fascism. But at the same time they also opposed the revolutionary trade union federation Dsenkio and shamelessly broke the strikes of the workers (for instance, the strike of the Tokyo and Yokahama tramwaymen this year, etc.). And now many of the "left" group Dsenkoku Domei are negotiating the complete cessation of their activity against Rodo Kurabu, and the establishment of unity with Dsenkoku Domei.

As regards the treachery of the leaders of the "left" Social-Democracy, and trade union bureaucracy, we have already mentioned their betrayal to the police of militant workers (see the first part of this article in "C.I." No. 13), their persecution of representatives of the revolutionary trade union opposition, their strike-breaking activities, etc. Inasmuch as the Social traitors of the "left" type deal with workers moving towards the revolutionary position, their interests coincide with those of the police in the struggle against the revolutionary elements.

The systematic treachery of the trade union bureaucrats led to the workers, gradually but deliberately, beginning to avoid the leadership of the trade union bureaucrats, and seeking to conduct their battles under the leadership of the Com-

munist Party and the revolutionary trade unions, the Dsenkio. The strikes conducted without reformist leadership ended more frequently in victory, even under such difficult conditions as prevail in war time, under slogans and methods of struggle directed against the war (the strike of the Tokyo subway, the strike in Tobu, etc.).

The Japanese workers are fighting more and more vigorously for their daily demands and offering strong resistance to the offensive of the capitalists and Government, taking the counter-offensive up more frequently. At times this counter-offensive is conducted in a highly organised manner; the workers suddenly attack the enemy, catching him unawares. Under the conditions of the military-police terror each strike, each demonstration, each betrayal of the Social-Democrats, teaches the workers not only who their enemies are, but also to conduct a political struggle against them. Under these conditions the influence of Dsenkio and of the revolutionary opposition steadily grows.

The growth of the fighting activity of the workers, and strengthening of the influence of the Japanese Communist Party, and revolutionary trade union movement prompts the Social-Fascists of all shades, to a united front against the revolutionary elements The right and the "left" trade union bureaucrats unite their treacherous tickets and create further division in the workers' organisations, to suppress the revolutionary front.

Rodo Kurabu (the "Workers' " Club) which was organised for this purpose, has been reorganised into Rodo Kumiai Kaichi (Trade Union Conference).

Whether the social-traitors will succeed, and how long they will succeed in these manœuvres depends upon us, upon our ability to expose them. Whether we will succeed in snatching the leadership of the economic struggle and the initiative from them, depends upon our ability to prepare and organise independent leadership of each strike, of each labour action, pursuing an efficient united front policy from below.

V.—THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The desperate plight of the Japanese peasantry oppressed by the feudal system of parasitic landlordism, monopolistic capitalism and the military-police regime, has now reached the most extreme limit in connection with the ever-growing economic crisis and the ruinous war. The fermentation in the village is affecting ever broader sections of even the most backward peasant masses. While only yesterday it was chiefly the poor tenant farmers who carried on the struggle for the land, to-day even the middle peasants, who own their own farms, are beginning to fight against the burden of debts and taxes. Thus, at the present time, practically all sections of the Japanese toiling peasantry are in a state of fermentation. The bourgeois newspaper Asaki wrote as follows on June 22 :

> "At the present time there is no virgin land in a single prefecture which is not involved in rent conflicts."

The bourgeoisie and the landlords, assisted by the Social-Democrats and Fascists, make every effort to crush the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, and where this is impossible, seek to take the leadership in their own hands, to direct the backward peasant masses to a war against the revolutionary proletariat by various demagogic tricks.

The grave agrarian crisis is no longer denied. Nevertheless, all the Social-Fascists carefully hide the main source of the agrarian crisis in Japan, parasitic landlord ownership. On the contrary, while hypocritically sighing over the sufferings of the poorest peasantry (without however pointing out the true road to the solution of the crisis, that is the agrarian revolution), they seek to make political capital on this, and divert the peasant masses from the struggle against the power of the exploiters.

The task of the "State Socialists" (Fascists) consists in urging the peasantry to march together with the landlords under the demagogic slogan of "saving the village."

Here is an example of the landlord-kulak programme of demands, worked out by Siakai Minshuto (whose chairman is Sudzuki Bundzi) :

Farm credits to the needy peasants; the right to own land to the toiling peasantry; a State monopoly of rice and fertilizers; a 10-year moratorium on peasant indebtedness.

In this programme the question of the land is replaced by some vague demand for the right to control (own, dispose of) the land, and the demand for a moratorium on debts. As regards "State monopoly of rice and fertilizers," now that the prices of farm products have disastrously declined, while the monopolist prices of fertilizers remain at a high level, all the landlords and kulaks support this demand. The same applies to credits inasmuch as under the power of the bourgeoisie and landlords, these credits benefit the landlords and kulaks, especially under parasitic landlordism, when 40-60 per cent. of the crop goes to the landlord.

The real essence of these demands consists in diverting the peasant masses from the struggle for the land. An even greater danger on the agrarian question is represented by the programme and activity of the "left" Social-Democracy. The

"left" leaders of Rono Taishuto and of the National Peasant Union Dseno (where the revolutionary opposition covers about 70 per cent. of the membership) combine "left" manœuvres with the practices of a police agency. If the leaders of Dseno manage to retain control of the organisation, while only 30 per cent. of its members actively support them, they owe this solely to the monarchical-landlord police.

Let us analyse this in greater detail.

The "left" Social-Democracy has, until recently, resorted to the "strategy of the proletarian revolution" to justify its betrayal of the peasant struggle for the land.

The "left" theoretician of the Social-Democracy Inomata wrote last year:

> "High interest rent (land rent in Japan.—A.) is not feudal rent and the less so capitalist rent. It belongs to an entirely different economic category" (thus neither the landlords nor the capitalists are guilty of anything!!—A.).

His disciple, a prominent reformist leader, declares that our main enemy is finance capital, while the landlords are mere agents of finance capital. For this reason it is wrong to divert the attention of the poor from this main enemy, and devote special energy to the struggle for the land, this is even harmful, etc.

The Congress of Rono Taishuto passed the following resolution:

> " . . . The peasant movement represents a broad arena of political and economic struggles involving the questions of taxes, debts, rent, fertilizers (and monopolistic prices of other goods)."

On the basis of this approach to the question the leaders of Rono Taishuto advance the vague slogan: "Ensure the toiling peasantry the land" and seek to restrict the peasant struggle for lower rents by all means, reducing it mainly to peaceful negotiations with the landlords.

But even the play at a "proletarian revolution," with the utmost attempts to safeguard themselves against it, still represent a certain danger under the conditions of the class struggle. For this reason the leaders are now rejecting even this slogan, and instead are practising the suppression of every attempt of the peasantry to fight for the land, expelling all the revolutionary peasants from the peasant organisations, expelling complete organisations, betraying the militant members of the revolutionary opposition (the national conference of Dseno) into the hands of the police.

The method used by the "left" Social-Democrats to capture the leadership of the Dseno strikingly illustrates their police nature. At last year's congress (1931) the revolutionary wing of Dseno controlled a majority. The "left" Social-Fascists resorted to provocation; they took up the leadership of Dseno with the knowledge of the police, "electing" their own leaders after most of the revolutionary delegates have been arrested by the police. A similar method was used this year as well. But such machinations cannot but arouse a storm of indignation on the part of the organised peasantry, who know, from past experience, the treacherous rôle of the leaders of the "left" Social-Democracy in the struggle for the land. The Communist influence among the organised peasantry grows daily. The Social-Democrats, therefore, forced the members of Dseno, under the false slogan of a "union between the workers and peasants," to support Rono Taishuto, with the object of frustrating the Communist influence.

Oyama, this cunning "left" social-traitor, wrote:

> "The workers and peasants have nothing in common along the line of economic demands. The only point connecting the working class with the peasantry, is the political struggle against the Government of the capitalists and landlords" (of course under the leadership of Rono Taishuto!!—A.).

Proceeding from this view, the "lefts" interfere with the mutual support of the workers and peasants in the daily struggle in every way; and the struggle for the land, against the landlords, and force the members of Dseno to support the treacherous social-police party of Rono Taishuto.

At a conference of the agricultural commission of Rono Taishuto a member of the C.C. and a leader of Dseno cynically reported on the police work carried out by him:

> "At the XVII Presidium of the C.C. held October 22, we expelled 4 members of the C.C. so that there remain at the present time only 5 members whom we regard as supporters of the opposition. The measures of the C.C. of Dseno against the opposition, chiefly organisational measures were taken in connection with those actions of the opposition which interfered with the mass character of Dseno and testified to the clearly disruptive work of the opposition. Among these measures of the C.C. was its order dissolving the local councils of the Northern and Central regions. Then, on the basis of decisions of the third session of the C.C., we dissolved the prefecture organisations of Tokyo as well as the Yamanasa opposition thus directing all our efforts towards the organisation of internal control. . . ."

(To be concluded.)

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